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EDITED BY
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY (separately paged).

LIST OF FELLOWS (separately paged).



I.

A HOARD OF ROMAN DENARII FROM SCOTLAND.

[SEE PLATES I and II.]

ON the 9th of August last there came to light within the burgh of Falkirk, Stirlingshire, what is—so far as trustworthy record goes—by far the most considerable hoard of Roman coins that has ever been found north of the Tweed. In connexion with a scheme of improvement, levelling operations on a large scale have been in progress for some time in the area known as Bell's Meadow. The soil is sandy, and, when cutting away the face of a small hill, one of the workmen, Robert Wallace by name, was puzzled to feel his spade encounter unexpected resistance. On investigation the obstacle proved to be a vessel of red earthenware, approximating in shape to a type familiar to excavators on Hadrian's Wall, where it occurs in association with objects of third-century date. The jar must have been cracked by the blow it had received. It broke on being lifted, and there fell from it a hard metallic cluster, covered with a greenish mould, as well as the remains of a piece of cloth which had evidently been used to protect the mouth. Fragments which detached themselves from the main mass in the fall were seen to be silver coins. A few of these, perhaps fifteen or twenty in all, were picked up by onlookers and retained. Everything else passed into the hands of the Crown Authorities as treasure trove.

The exact spot where the discovery was made will be marked in future issues of the Ordnance Survey Map: it is a little to the north-east of the large house called Belmont. There may be some significance in the fact that it is just over 400 yards north-north-west of a great re-entrant angle in the line of the Antonine Ditch. It would certainly be a convenience for the owner to have in his mind a fixed point from which he would require to walk in a particular direction for so many paces, when he wished to disinter the fortune he had buried. The cavity dug for its reception would seem to have been at the bottom of what was then a natural hollow or, possibly, a ditch. The jar was resting at a depth of as much as 7 ft. below the modern surface, while above it was a pocket of 'free' sand, which gradually expanded upwards until it was 9 ft. broad. These figures would have been excessive in the case of an excavation made for purposes of concealment, since so serious a disturbance of the ground would inevitably have attracted attention and thus served to defeat the object in view.

On their arrival in Edinburgh the contents of the cache were transmitted by the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer to the National Museum of Antiquities for a report. The Museum staff were engaged for nearly three weeks on the tedious and delicate task of separating the cluster into its component parts and removing from each the accretion of copper salts by which it was disfigured. But the work was most skilfully done, and the result more satisfactory than might have been anticipated. The coins emerged from the ordeal very much in the guise they must have been wearing on the day they were entrusted to the

care of Mother Earth. There were 1,925 of them,¹ and all but three were ordinary Roman denarii. The first and most notable exception was Greek—a drachm of Lycia *in genere*, minted during the second consulship of Trajan—but it was so much worn that it would easily circulate, unnoticed, as one of the class to which its companions belonged. The second was a *denier défourré*, as Cohen would have termed it—the bronze core of a plated denarius of Caracalla. Others like it had been produced at the same time, for a square-ended projection at the side indicated that it had been one of a series, moulded in a row. The third exception was the obverse side of the silver skin of a plated denarius of Vespasian, displaying the Emperor's head and the legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS; the reverse side and the core had doubtless disappeared when the cluster dropped from the broken jar. The occurrence of plated pieces is of some interest. They have seldom been observed in hoards, perhaps merely because those who were thrifty enough to save money would usually be alert enough to refuse them when offered.²

A cursory inspection showed that the composition of the hoard was quite as noteworthy as its exceptional size. First in point of age came a Republican denarius of c. 83 B.C. Next in order were seventeen representatives

¹ This excludes one or two stragglers which did not reach the Museum but which I have seen in other hands.

² Haverfield, however, seems to have thought that it pointed to their having been issued "to serve somewhat the purpose of our modern paper-money". See his valuable 'Note' in *Archaeologia*, liv. pp. 489 ff., where he states that the only hoard known to him in which plated denarii had occurred was one of several hundreds which were all plated.

of the legionary issues of Mark Antony. Then, after the usual gap, due to the absence of Augustus and the first three of his successors, there followed an almost unbroken array of 'Imperial personages' from Nero down to and including Alexander Severus and his mother, Julia Mamaea. The earliest denarius was thus separated from the latest by an interval of more than 300 years. This was surprising enough. *Prima facie*, however, it seemed still more surprising that a collection of the sort should have been hidden away on the Scottish isthmus half a century after the Antonine Wall had been abandoned and Southern Scotland evacuated by the Romans. How was such a phenomenon to be explained? It was clear that the first step must be an endeavour to see whether a closer scrutiny would throw any light on the general character of the hoard or on the history of its accumulation. The omens were propitious. In the first place there was obviously something abnormal about the way in which the coins were distributed between the various reigns. Vespasian, for instance, had by far the largest share, although he had been dead for a century and a half. In the second place, they differed widely in respect of their state of preservation. Some had been rubbed almost smooth by usage, while others were as fresh as if they had left the mint only a year or two ago. Between the extremes there were many gradations. These differences must have a story to tell, if their significance could be determined.

Concurrently, therefore, with the precise identification of each piece a careful note was made of its condition. When the examination was completed, a review of the facts suggested certain definite inferences. It

will probably be best to begin by setting out the evidence. Attention will be drawn to salient points as they arise. But it will be convenient to refrain from any attempt to formulate conclusions until all the data have been assembled. For the sake of brevity, Cohen's arrangement will be made the basis of classification, any necessary exceptions being specifically mentioned. It should be understood that, where the reference to Cohen stands alone, the hoard contained only a single specimen of the variety concerned. Where it contained more, their number is indicated by a figure in square brackets. I should add that for help on one or two points I am indebted to Mr. Mattingly.

REPUBLICAN PERIOD [1]

The single Republican denarius was one of the numerous issues of P. Crepusius, who is believed to have held the office of moneyer about 83 B.C. (*B.M.C., Roman Republic*, i. pp. 336 and 339 ff.). Its condition was eloquent of the long circulation-life it had enjoyed. It is well known that Republican denarii were current throughout the Empire until the end of the Flavian era, and that their presence on Roman sites in Britain is presumptive proof of a first-century or very early second-century occupation. They must have been demonetized by Trajan, when he called in νόμισμα πᾶν τὸ ἐξίτηλον for recoinage (Dio, lxxviii. 15).

MARK ANTONY [20]

The twenty coins bearing the name of Mark Antony included seventeen of the 'legionary' type, which must date from c. 31 B.C. All of these were heavily worn. Indeed, in the case of six it was impossible even to guess at the number of the legion concerned. The other eleven were either certainly or probably:—C. 28[4]; C. 33[2]; C. 36; C. 37; C. 38; C. 48; and C. 55. Such pieces often appear in second-century and third-century hoards, and the explanation is familiar to

numismatists. Antony was far in advance of his age. The quality of the metal he employed was so poor that, despite the progressive deterioration of the imperial denarius, it was a very long time before it became profitable to melt his issues down.³

The remaining three were in a different category. They represented C. 83—the restoration of Antony's **LEG VI** coins by Marcus and Verus—and could therefore be assigned to A.D. 160 or later. As examples are seldom found in Britain, the one that was best preserved is illustrated here [Pl. I. 1]. The other two were in much less satisfactory condition.

NERO [27]

Most of the coins of Nero were in a very poor state. Only two or three of them could be classed as even 'fair'. That they were, as a rule, common or very common will be clear from the inventory:—C. 45; C. 119 [7]; C. 121 [4]; C. 123; C. 258 [2]; C. 314 [4]; C. 318 [2]; C. 320 [2]; C. 335 [3]; and C. 356.

GALBA [14]

What has been said of the coins of Nero applies with equal force to the fourteen denarii of Galba. There were examples of three different varieties:—C. 55 [4]; C. 240; and C. 287 [9].⁴

OTHO [7]

The comparative scarcity of Otho's money was faithfully reflected in the hoard. There were only seven specimens:—C. 3; C. 9; C. 11; C. 12; C. 15 [2]; and C. 17. All of them had obviously seen much service.

³ See *Archaeologia*, liv. p. 490.

⁴ That is, on what seems to be the perfectly safe assumption that in Cohen's description of this variety 'OR 150' has been accidentally repeated from the line above displacing, 'AR. 5'. The rev. inscription, too, instead of being in two lines as in Cohen's cut of the *A*, is in three lines as on *B.M.C., Roman Empire*, i. Pl. 52, 17.

VITELLIUS [15]

The coins of Vitellius, too, bore every mark of having been in everyday use over a lengthy period. They sorted themselves out as follows:—C. 21; cf. C. 24; C. 36; C. 42; C. 47 [2]; C. 48; C. 72 [2]; C. 111 [3]; C. 115 [2]; C. 117. The variant of C. 24 had **EXERCITVM** on the reverse like the specimen cited in *B.M.C., Roman Empire*, i. p. 385, footnote to no. 84.

VESPASIAN [350]

It has already been mentioned that the coins of Vespasian far outnumbered those of any other emperor. There was no real sign of improvement in respect of condition. It would have been quite unsafe to credit a single one of the pieces with a circulation-life of less than twenty or thirty years. The vast majority must have been changing hands constantly until well on in the second century. The detailed list will show that there were no great rarities, and that in a very few instances wear and tear made precise identification impossible:—C. 28 [9]; C. 41; C. 43 [12]; C. 44 [5, of which 3 were not quite certain]; C. 45 [16, of which 1 was not quite certain]; cf. C. 53; C. 54 [4]; C. 74 [7]; C. 84 [4]; C. 88 [6]; *Obv.* = C. 88, and *Rev.* = Aequitas, standing, with **COS ITER TR POT** [3]; *Obv.* = C. 88, and *Rev.* = Pax, standing, with **COS ITER TR POT** [2]; *Obv.* = C. 88, and *Rev.* = Pax, seated, with **COS ITER TR POT** [50]; C. 110; C. 113; C. 118 [2]; C. 121 [11]; C. 122 [3]; C. 125 [9]; C. 126 [3]; C. 129 [2]; *Obv.* = C. 129, and *Rev.* = C. 133 [4]; *Obv.* = C. 131, and *Rev.* = C. 133; C. 144; C. 146 [2]; C. 149 [3]; C. 164; C. 213 [4]; C. 214; C. 216 [3]; C. 222 [6]; C. 223 [2]; C. 226 [19]; C. 358; *Obv.* = C. 263, and *Rev.* = C. 361; C. 362 [13]; C. 363; C. 364 [9]; C. 366 [47]; C. 367; C. 368 [2]; C. 369 [2]; C. 373; C. 386; C. 387 [13];⁵ C. 389; C. 390 [3]; C. 431 [8]; C. 497 [7]; C. 516; C. 517; C. 541; C. 554; C. 561 [2];

⁵ The 'M.B.' in Cohen's description of 387 would seem to be a misprint for 'AR.'. It was a common variety of denarius, as is proved, not only by the thirteen in this hoard, but also by *B.M.C., Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 19 ff., nos. 98 ff.

C. 563 [4];⁶ C. 564; C. 566 [14]; C. 574 [6]; C. 618 [7]; and *Obv.* only.

The last entry refers to the fragment of a plated denarius. Cohen's 53 is of gold, and no example of the corresponding denarius is recorded by Mattingly and Sydenham. Unfortunately the Falkirk specimen was in very poor condition. The nature of the other variations has been set out in a form which should be self-explanatory. All were unimportant. Thus, abundant parallels will be found in *B.M.C., Roman Empire*, ii. (pp. 3 f., nos. 17 ff., 21 f., and 26 ff.) for the three pieces whose reverse it has been necessary to describe here in full.

TITUS [63]

The coins of Titus had fared just a little better than those of his father, inasmuch as a higher proportion of them were in 'fair' condition. It was natural that these should be drawn mainly from issues of a date later than the death of Vespasian. The inventory will reveal one or two points of minor interest:—C. 17 [3]; C. 25; C. 31 [3]; *Obv.*=C. 65, and *Rev.*=C. 60 [2]; C. 65 [2]; C. 67 [2]; C. 121; *Obv.*=C. 159, and *Rev.*=C. 161; C. 162 [3]; *Obv.*=T CAES IMP VESP CEN Head r., laur., and *Rev.*=Salus, seated l., with SALVS AVG; cf. C. 268; C. 270 [3]; cf. C. 270; C. 272; C. 292; C. 303 [6]; C. 306; C. 309 [5]; C. 310; C. 313 [8]; C. 314; C. 316 [6]; C. 318 [5]; C. 321 [2]; and C. 334 [2].

The denarius with SALVS AVG seems to be unpublished. It belongs to the issue of 73 A.D. (*B.M.C., Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 21 ff.), and the same reverse is found with the head of Vespasian. The variant of C. 268 has the head of Titus to l., as on *ibid.*, p. 225, no. 11. On the variant of C. 270 the letters PP are omitted at the end of the reverse inscription. This means an addition to the first footnote *ibid.*, p. 224. On two of the eight examples of C. 313 the frame-work above the table is semicircular, as on *ibid.*, p. 233, nos. 58 ff., while on the remaining six it is triangular as on *ibid.*, nos. 61 ff.

⁶ The VESPA of Cohen must be a misprint for VESP. His version of the *obv.* inscription is unknown to Mattingly and Sydenham.

JULIA TITI [1]

The coins of Julia, daughter of Titus, are scarce. The piece by which she was represented here was C. 14. It did not reach even the standard of 'fair' preservation.

DOMITIAN [85]

Most of the coins of Domitian were heavily worn. On the other hand, there were a few of his later ones which could be classed as 'fairly good' or 'good', designations which indicate a probable circulation-life of not more than twenty-five years at the outside. One of these is figured as typical [Pl. I. 3.]. It was minted in A.D. 93-94. The catalogue of varieties is as follows:—C. 27; C. 47 [6]; C. 49 [6]; C. 51 [13]; C. 226; C. 235; C. 236; C. 250; C. 251; C. 255; C. 256; C. 258; C. 259; C. 261; C. 263; C. 264; C. 265; C. 272; C. 273 [2]; C. 278; C. 279; C. 280 [3]; C. 281; *Obv.*=C. 282, and *Rev.*=C. 280; C. 291; *Obv.*=C. 297, and *Rev.*=C. 292; C. 375 [2]; C. 378 [4]; C. 381; C. 382 [2]; C. 390 [2]; C. 397 [4]; C. 399 [2]; C. 560; C. 564 [2]; C. 568 [2]; C. 570; *Obv.*=C. 365, and *Rev.*=C. 573 [2]; *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG PONT Head r., laur., and *Rev.* Winged thunderbolt on table, with TR P COS VII DES VIII PP; *Obv.*=C. 567, and *Rev.* as preceding; C. 577; cf. C. 594; C. 595; *Obv.*=C. 567, and *Rev.* Lighted altar, garlanded, with TR P COS VII DES VIII PP; *Obv.* CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS CO[S VI] Head r., laur., and *Rev.* Vesta, seated l., holding *simpulum*, with [TRI]PO[T] in field; and 664 [3].

The two variants whose *obv.* and *rev.* are both described in full appear to be unpublished. The first belongs to the Emperor's second issue (A.D. 81) and should be added to the list in *B.M.C., Roman Empire*, ii., pp. 298 f. The *obv.* of the second is characteristic of the PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS issue of A.D. 79 (*ibid.*, pp. 46 ff.), while the *rev.* is used by Vespasian (*ibid.*, p. 10). To judge by its condition, this coin had been longer in circulation than any other piece in the hoard. The remaining variants are all in the British Museum, including that of C. 594, which is *ibid.* p. 302, no.

22. Only the two which have a reverse=C. 573 call for remark. One of these is *ibid.*, p. 298, no. 6, while its companion closely resembles *ibid.*, p. 299, no. 7, but shows only three crescent-like objects, instead of five.

NERVA [19]

When the coins of Nerva came to be examined, it was at once apparent that they were likely to provide valuable evidence for the history of the hoard. With perhaps a single exception they were all very common. But the average state of preservation was considerably higher than it had been in the case of the coins of any earlier emperor. None was seriously worn, while there were at least two or three of which one would have hesitated to say that they had been in circulation for more than fifteen or twenty years at the outside [Pl. I. 2]. The varieties were:—C. 3; C. 6 [2]; C. 16 [2]; C. 20 [3]; C. 40; C. 48 [4]; C. 51; C. 66; C. 91; C. 106; and C. 113 [2].

TRAJAN [215]

In respect of condition a marked improvement was again apparent. The contrast with the coins of Vespasian was striking. While there was no lack of worn specimens, there were also many that could be classed as 'good', a few that could be classed as 'very good', and one or two that were almost 'brilliant' [Pl. I. 4]. Occasionally there were notable differences between members of the same group—that is, between coins belonging to the same variety and therefore of the same date. One might be very well preserved, and its fellows more or less badly rubbed. It will be observed that the inventory includes only one variant of any importance, apparently unpublished:—C. 3; C. 9; C. 26 [3]; C. 68 [9];⁷ C. 69 [5]; C. 74 [12];⁷ C. 76 [4]; C. 80; C. 81 [4]; C. 83 [2]; C. 84 [6]; C. 85 [17];⁸ C. 86 [3]; C. 87 [2];

⁷ On one of the examples of C. 68 and on two of those of C. 74 the bust is fully draped.

⁸ The 'OR' of Cohen is an obvious misprint for 'AR'.

C. 89 [2];⁹ C. 98;¹⁰ C. 100 [4]; C. 115; C. 118 [2]; C. 120; C. 121; C. 140; C. 150 [6]; C. 154 [5]; C. 156; C. 188; C. 190 [2]; C. 191 [4]; C. 193; C. 196 [2]; C. 199 [3]; C. 200; C. 212 [4]; C. 219; C. 222; C. 227; C. 228 [2]; C. 234 [3]; C. 241 [5]; C. 242 [3]; C. 255; *Obv.* IMP NERVA TRAI-
ANVS AVG GER DACICVS Bust r., laur., wearing aegis,
and *Rev.* Victory, facing, with PM TR P COSV PP; C. 260;
C. 261; C. 270 [6]; C. 271; C. 272; C. 274 [9]; C. 276 [4];
C. 277 [2];¹¹ C. 278 [3]; C. 279 [2];¹² C. 288 [3]; C. 292 [2];
C. 295 [2]; C. 302 [2]; C. 313; C. 315 [3]; C. 366; C. 372
[4]; C. 398 [3]; C. 402 [2]; C. 404 [2]; C. 400 [3];¹³ C. 412
[2]; C. 417; C. 426 [3]; C. 467; C. 497 [3]; C. 514; C. 529;
C. 538; C. 558 [4]; C. 577 [3]; C. 594; C. 644; and C.
648 [2].

Besides these, there was a denarius whose reverse was the incuse impression of an obverse. There was also the drachm of Lycia *in genere* which was mentioned at the outset:—

Obv. [ΑΥΤΚΑΙC] ΝΕΠΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCCEΒΓΕΡΜ Head
of Trajan r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜ [ΕΞ] [ΥΠΑΤ]Β Two lyres; perched on them,
an owl facing.

HADRIAN [235]

Hadrian, with 234 pieces to his credit, was more numerously represented than any other emperor except Vespasian. Though nearly all of them were common or very common, his coins were interesting as being generally, but not invariably, in better preservation than those of Trajan. The majority could be classed as 'good' or 'very good'. One of

⁹ The animal beside Arabia seems to be an ostrich, not a camel.

¹⁰ As will be seen from Pl. IV, the place of the oval shield above is taken by two hexagonal shields in saltire.

¹¹ The TRAIANO of Cohen seems to be a misprint for TRAIAN.

¹² On one of the two examples of C. 279 the aegis is a very prominent feature.

¹³ Misplaced in Cohen.

the best is illustrated here [Pl. I. 5]. The list of varieties is as follows:—C. 4; C. 80; cf. C. 80;¹⁴ C. 99; cf. C. 140;¹⁵ C. 154; C. 170; C. 172 [2]; C. 188 [2]; cf. C. 188;¹⁶ cf. C. 216;¹⁷ C. 250; C. 251; C. 252 [3]; C. 307; C. 315 [3]; C. 328 [2]; cf. C. 328;¹⁸ C. 329; C. 332; C. 335; C. 337 [6]; C. 338 [3]; C. 349 [4]; C. 358 [3]; C. 361; C. 363 [4]; C. 374 [3]; C. 379 [2]; C. 380 [4]; C. 381; C. 382 [2]; C. 390; C. 394; C. 395; C. 454 [2]; C. 460 [3]; C. 461; C. 466 [2]; C. 595; C. 598; C. 599 [3]; C. 600 [2]; C. 602 [3]; C. 649; C. 716 [2]; C. 717; C. 724; C. 744; C. 745 [5]; C. 749; C. 762 [2]; *Obv.* = C. 787, and *Rev.* = C. 782; C. 783; C. 797; C. 802; C. 806; C. 816; C. 858; C. 874; C. 877 [2]; C. 884 [2]; C. 903 [3]; C. 907 [2]; C. 909 [5]; C. 913; C. 938; C. 963 [5]; C. 965; C. 966 [4]; C. 987; C. 1009; C. 1015 [2]; C. 1023; C. 1027 [5]; C. 1063; *Obv.* IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG Bust r., laur., draped, and *Rev.* Minerva l., dropping incense on candelabrum, with PM TR P COS III [2]; *Obv.* Similar, but head only, and *Rev.* Similar, but shield on ground at Minerva's l. side; C. 1073 [3]; C. 1098 [8]; C. 1099 [6]; C. 1107; C. 1108; C. 1114; C. 1118; C. 1120 [6]; cf. C. 1123;¹⁹ C. 1131 [2]; C. 1132 [4]; C. 1140; C. 1143; C. 1147 [2]; C. 1151 [2]; C. 1155 [2]; C. 1162; C. 1198; C. 1199; C. 1202; C. 1204; C. 1247; C. 1312 [2]; C. 1314; C. 1316; C. 1327 [4]; C. 1328; C. 1329; C. 1334; C. 1335 [3]; C. 1336; C. 1350 [3]; C. 1354 [5]; C. 1425; C. 1427 [3]; C. 1437; C. 1439; C. 1454 [2]; C. 1455 [4]; C. 1460; C. 1461 [3]; C. 1481 [3]; and C. 1483.

The type of Minerva dropping incense on a candelabrum [Pl. I. 6] is common enough on *Æ* (C. 1066), but does not seem to have been noted previously on *AR*. The closest analogy on denarii is C. 1065.

¹⁴ The Emperor's head is laur.

¹⁵ Africa holds a cornucopiae. Cohen's failure to mention this may be accidental.

¹⁶ The bust is draped and bare-headed.

¹⁷ This has a draped bust.

¹⁸ Not a bust but a head.

¹⁹ The bust is l., instead of r.

SABINA [19]

Some of the coins of Sabina had evidently been in circulation for a considerable time. Others were in better condition. The one illustrated, for example [Pl. I. 7], can hardly have been in circulation for more than a few years before it was laid away. Nine different varieties were represented:—C. 3; C. 12 [4]; C. 14; C. 24; C. 37; C. 43 [3]; C. 73 [3]; C. 81 [4]; and C. 89.

AELIUS [5]

The condition of the denarii of Aelius ranged from 'fairly good' to 'good'. They were few in number, and each belonged to a different variety:—C. 1; cf. C. 14; cf. C. 36; C. 53; and C. 54. The distinguishing feature of the variant of C. 14 is the absence of the column on which Concordia usually leans [Pl. I. 8]. On the variant of C. 36 the Emperor's head is l.

ANTONINUS PIUS [205]

It could not be said that the coins of Antoninus Pius were, on the average, appreciably better preserved than those of Hadrian. Many were 'good' or 'very good', while really worn pieces were comparatively scarce, although there were a few that must have been in circulation for thirty years at the very least. The inventory has no important variants to show:—C. 1 [2]; C. 14 [4]; C. 33; C. 59 [2]; C. 68; C. 77; *Obv.*=C. 75, and *Rev.*=C. 78; C. 84; C. 85; C. 93; C. 96; C. 124; C. 135 [2]; *Obv.*=C. 123, and *Rev.*=C. 135; C. 136; C. 154; C. 155 [5]; C. 158; C. 164 [2]; C. 188; C. 196 [4]; C. 197 [5]; C. 198 [3]; C. 200; C. 201 [2]; C. 218; C. 219; C. 228; C. 240; C. 258; C. 263 [2]; C. 267 [2]; C. 270; C. 280; C. 281 [2]; C. 283 [2]; C. 284 [5]; C. 288; C. 290 [5]; C. 291 [2]; C. 292 [2]; C. 297; C. 304; C. 331; C. 344 [6]; C. 345 [7]; C. 352; C. 357 [7]; C. 360 [2]; C. 361 [2]; C. 373; C. 374; C. 383 [4]; C. 385; C. 386; C. 387 [2]; C. 398 [2]; C. 405 [2]; C. 416; C. 437 [2]; C. 490 [10]; C. 491 [2]; C. 522 [2]; C. 573 [4]; C. 582 [2]; C. 585 [2]; C. 681;

C. 696; C. 740 [2]; C. 741 [2]; cf. C. 802;²⁰ C. 825 [3]; C. 826 [3]; C. 827; C. 851; C. 859; C. 861; C. 875; cf. C. 877;²¹ C. 889; C. 915; C. 973 [2]; C. 979 [3]; C. 982; C. 983 [5]; C. 987; C. 1006 [2]; C. 1016 [2]; C. 1021 [3]; C. 1023 [5]; C. 1037; C. 1038 [3];²² C. 1039 [4]; C. 1057; C. 1061; *Obv.* = C. 1102, and *Rev.* = C. 1110; *Obv.* = C. 1102, and *Rev.* = C. 1113 [3]; *Obv.* = C. 1127, and *Rev.* = C. 1113; *Obv.* = C. 1102, and *Rev.* = C. 1117 [2].

PIUS AND MARCUS AURELIUS [7]

The best-preserved of these pieces was classed as 'very good', the least satisfactory as 'fair'. There is nothing that needs comment in the list of varieties:—C. 2; C. 14; C. 15 [2]; C. 21; *Obv.* = C. 22, and *Rev.* = C. 21; and C. 22.

FAUSTINA SENIOR [104]

The differences in condition displayed by the coins of Faustina Senior were typical of the hoard as a whole. Accordingly, two out of a group of three, all belonging to the same variety, have been selected for illustration [Pl. I. 9 and 10]. The contrast is instructive. The following is a detailed inventory:—C. 1; C. 11 [5]; C. 26 [9]; C. 32 [8]; C. 34 [3]; C. 41 [3]; C. 61; C. 78 [2]; C. 84 [9]; C. 96 [7]; C. 104 [5]; C. 101; C. 108 [2]; C. 119 [3]; C. 120 [2]; C. 124 [9]; C. 132; C. 136 [5]; C. 141 [2]; C. 166; C. 175 [6]; C. 181; C. 209; C. 215 [4]; C. 234 [4]; C. 237 [5]; C. 291 [4].

MARCUS AURELIUS [122]

Some of the coins of Marcus were heavily worn. Others ranked as 'good'. The condition of a few could be described as 'very good', indicating that they are not likely to have been in active circulation for more than ten years at the

²⁰ The Falkirk example reads *DIVI* not *DIV*.

²¹ No knife is included in the group on the rev. A similar piece in the B.M. is published by Mattingly and Sydenham.

²² In one of these three cases the identification is doubtful, as the date is off the flan.

outside. It may or may not be an accident that those which were well preserved were either earlier than 150 or later than 160. Those minted during the intervening years were, as a rule, in a poor or very poor state. Pl. I. 11 is of A.D. 175. The varieties represented were all common:—C. 7 [3]; C. 8; C. 9 [2]; C. 31; C. 35 [2]; C. 37; C. 83; C. 100 [2]; C. 102; C. 105 [10]; C. 123 [2]; *Obv.*=C. 124 and *Rev.*=C. 130; C. 150; C. 209; C. 236; *Obv.*=C. 260, and *Rev.*=C. 271 [2]; C. 280 [2]; C. 298 [2]; C. 306 [2]; C. 325; C. 340; C. 389 [3]; C. 412 [2]; C. 435; C. 437; C. 438; C. 440; C. 451; C. 469 [3]; C. 472; C. 476; C. 507; C. 508; C. 516; C. 518; C. 522; C. 523; C. 525; C. 526; C. 530 [2]; C. 543; C. 546; C. 600; C. 608; C. 618 [2]; C. 645 [3]; C. 646; C. 661 [2]; C. 663 [1]; C. 673 [2]; C. 700; C. 701; C. 703; C. 709 [2]; C. 721 [5]; C. 727 [3]; C. 729 [3]; C. 740 [3]; *Obv.*=C. 739, and *Rev.*=C. 746 [2]; C. 762 [3]; C. 765; C. 848; C. 878 [2]; C. 882 [4]; C. 892 [4]; C. 916; C. 926; C. 944; C. 949 [2]; C. 953; C. 975.

FAUSTINA JUNIOR [100]

There is little to be said as to the condition of Faustina's coins, except that the average was higher than was the case with those of her husband, and that the **CONSECRATIO** pieces were almost uniformly good. No special interest attached to any of the varieties:—C. 15 [7]; C. 21 [2]; C. 32 [12]; C. 35 [4]; C. 54 [7]; C. 70; C. 71 [6]; C. 73; C. 75; C. 77; C. 81; C. 85; C. 95 [2]; C. 99 [10]; C. 111; C. 120 [10]; C. 140 [3]; C. 141 [6]; C. 145; C. 147; C. 155; C. 160; C. 176 [2]; C. 184 [3]; C. 190 [3]; C. 191 [2]; C. 195 [3]; C. 196; C. 197; C. 255 [3]; C. 266 [2].

LUCIUS VERUS [13]

The denarii of Verus were few in comparison with those of Marcus, but they differed from one another almost as widely in regard to condition. The specimen that was best preserved belonged to A.D. 161, while one struck four years later was the most heavily worn of all. There were nine distinct varieties:—C. 8 [2]; C. 17; C. 55; C. 144 [2]; C. 155; C. 156 [2]; C. 229 [2]; C. 262; C. 270.

LUCILLA [15]

There was actually a better representation of the coins of Lucilla than of the coins of her husband. Their condition, too, was better, being for the most part 'good' or 'very good'. The inventory presents no points of particular interest:—C. 6 [3]; C. 28; C. 38 [3]; C. 41; C. 60; C. 62 [2]; C. 89; C. 90; C. 92; C. 98.

COMMODUS [41]

A notable feature was the comparatively small number of the coins of Commodus. There were only forty-one, and the condition of the majority was poor; the most conspicuous exception belonged to A.D. 175 [Pl. I. 12]. It will be observed, too, that only in six cases was there more than one specimen of the same variety and that in no case were there more than two:—C. 34; C. 45; C. 127 [2]; C. 190; C. 202; cf. C. 212;²³ C. 245; C. 260; C. 279 [2]; C. 288; C. 291; C. 346; C. 351; cf. C. 359;²⁴ *Obv.*=C. 460, and *Rev.*=C. 463; C. 486 [2]; C. 544 [2]; C. 568; C. 583; C. 608; C. 646; C. 660; C. 661; C. 703; C. 762; C. 775 [2]; C. 804; C. 811 [2]; C. 827; C. 830; C. 831; C. 838; *Obv.*=C. 905, and *Rev.*=C. 903; C. 928; *Obv.*=C. 928, and *Rev.*=C. 932.

CRISPINA [11]

Crispina was represented by eleven coins, whose condition was either 'fairly good' or 'good':—C. 8 [2]; C. 9; C. 18; C. 21 [4]; C. 35 [2]; C. 42 [2].

DIDIUS JULIANUS [1]

The solitary denarius of Didius Julianus (C. 15) was much the least common piece in the hoard. There seems to be no record of any of his coins having been found in Scotland before. Pl. I. 13 shows that it was fairly well preserved.

²³ Probably, however, the COM of Cohen is a misprint for COMM, in which case this is not a variant.

²⁴ C. 359 is in A/. But Mattingly and Sydenham publish a denarius of the same types (B.M.).

CLODIUS ALBINUS [6]

The condition of the coins of Albinus varied from 'fair' to 'good'. In no case would it have been safe to postulate a circulation-life of less than ten years. The inventory is a short one:—C. 15; C. 48 [3]; C. 58; C. 61.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS [55]

Few of the coins of Severus fell below the level of 'good', some were 'very good', and one or two were even 'brilliant'. The legionary denarii of A.D. 293 were all somewhat worn. On the other hand, the **MART VICTOR** of A.D. 294 could be described as 'excellent'. The **LAETITIA TEMPORUM** of A.D. 201 was particularly fine [Pl. I. 14]. The other example illustrated [Pl. II. 1] belongs to A.D. 210–211. In the course of what must have been its brief circulation-life, the latter has evidently passed through cautious hands, for more than one nick has been cut in its edge, to see whether it was plated. It is worth adding that the condition of these pieces would alone be sufficient to refute the theory of 'coin-drift', of which the archaeological world recently heard something. No one could seriously maintain that they had been in everyday use for thirty years before they reached Scotland. The detailed list is as follows:—C. 6; C. 37; C. 48 [2]; C. 58; C. 68; C. 135; C. 146; C. 174; C. 177; C. 205; cf. C. 237;²⁵ C. 253; C. 257; C. 264 (?); C. 268; C. 272; C. 281; C. 291; C. 298; C. 324;²⁶ C. 330; C. 357 [2]; C. 373; C. 380; C. 386 [2]; C. 390 [2]; C. 404; C. 423; C. 429 [2]; C. 444; C. 471 [2]; C. 489; C. 525; C. 540; C. 542; C. 592; C. 612; C. 682; C. 694; C. 719; C. 752 [3]; C. 777 [3]; C. 790 [3].

JULIA DOMNA [34]

Some of Domna's coins had seen a good deal of service, but the majority of them were 'good'. They included no

²⁵ This almost certainly reads **IMP XI**, not **IMP XII**.

²⁶ That is, on the assumption that Cohen's **CA** is a misprint for **CAE**.

rarities:—C. 27; C. 32 [2]; C. 47 [2]; C. 72 [2]; C. 79; C. 82; C. 101; C. 123; C. 137 [2]; C. 156 [3]; C. 168 [2]; C. 174; C. 194 [5]; C. 198 [5]; C. 205; C. 212; C. 221 [2]; C. 226.

In accordance with Cohen's classification, and indeed with the usual practice, all of the pieces inscribed **IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG** are here assigned to Julia Domna. That the attribution is generally correct admits of no doubt: she is called **PIA FELIX** on inscriptions. Moreover, on many of the coins, such as **Pl. II. 2**, the likeness is unmistakable. On the other hand, the manner in which the hair is dressed on the examples of C. 205 and C. 212 [**Pl. II. 3**]*—*more particularly the absence of any trace of the familiar chignon*—*suggests the possibility that on these it may not be Domna who is represented, but Mamaea, a specimen of whose money from the hoard is here reproduced for comparison [**Pl. II. 14**]. As queen-mother, the niece occupied an even more dominating position during the reign of Alexander Severus than the aunt had done during the reign of Caracalla, and there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the idea that she, too, may have imitated the **PIVS FELIX** of her son. The question is of no great moment, and the material is perhaps too scanty to admit of a definite decision. But the point seems at least worth raising.

CARACALLA [33]

The condition of Caracalla's coins, especially of his later issues [**Pl. II. 4**], was often 'good' or 'very good'. The most noteworthy piece is illustrated [**Pl. II. 5**]. It is a variant of C. 168, but the style is unusual and so also is the form of the obverse inscription. Mr. Mattingly tells me that there is a similar piece in the British Museum, and that he believes it was struck at a Syrian mint, possibly Laodicea. The others were all more or less common:—C. 73; C. 82; C. 97; C. 128; C. 144 [3]; *Obv.* = **IMP C MAVR ANTON AVG P TR P** Bust r., draped, and *Rev.* = C. 168; C. 195; C. 196; C. 239 [2]; C. 242; C. 282; C. 302; C. 382; C. 415; C. 424 [5]; C. 434; C. 465; C. 483; C. 606; C. 631; C. 688; C. 689 [2].

PLAUTILLA [2]

There were two denarii of Plautilla—C. 8 and C. 25, the former 'fairly good', the latter 'good'.

GETA [18]

The coins of Geta were all common:—C. 35; C. 38 [3]; C. 62; C. 119; C. 137; C. 157; C. 159 [2]; C. 170; C. 206; C. 230. Their state of preservation was, on the average, better than that of the coins of any other reign. Of the two that are illustrated, Pl. II. 6 belongs to A.D. 203–208, and Pl. II. 7 to 210–211.

MACRINUS [2]

There were two specimens of the money of Macrinus—C. 19, which was 'good' and C. 79, which was 'very good'.

DIADUMENIANUS [1]

The one coin of Diadumenianus (C. 3) was in fairly good condition [Pl. II. 8].

ELAGABALUS [27]

The majority of the pieces with the head of Elagabalus were either well or very well preserved [Pl. II. 9]. One [Pl. II. 10] can have seen but little circulation. At the other extreme were two or three which must have passed through many hands. The list offers little scope for comment:—C. 1 [3]; C. 15; C. 61; *Obr.*=C. 86, and *Rev.*=C. 80 [2]; C. 86; C. 109; *Obr.*=C. 82, and *Rev.*=C. 109;²⁷ C. 154; C. 213; C. 222; C. 256; C. 261; C. 276 [5]; C. 282; C. 289 [2]; and C. 300 [3].

JULIA PAULA [1]

Julia Paula had only a single example to her credit. It was C. 6, and was in good condition.

²⁷ This obviously corresponds to the *antoninianus*, C. 112.

AQUILIA SEVERA [1]

Aquila Severa was in rather worse case. The solitary specimen by which she was represented was only in a fair state of preservation, besides being the least rare of her denarii (C. 2).

JULIA SOAEMIAS [7]

Julia Soaemias makes a better showing with seven coins—C. 8 [3] and C. 14 [4]. One was in very good condition [Pl. II. 11] and five in good condition, while the seventh was no more than 'very fair'.

JULIA MAESA [8]

The denarii of Julia Maesa were eight in number, and they displayed rather more variety—C. 8; C. 16; C. 29; C. 36 [2]; C. 45 [2]; and C. 52. One or two of these were in good or very good condition. The others were all more or less worn. An interesting question arose in connexion with the type of the last on the list, which is also one of the best preserved [Pl. II. 12]. The figure of Venus Victrix had already appeared on a denarius of Caracalla (C. 606), represented in the hoard by a rather poorly preserved example. That the object which Venus holds in her extended r. hand is the same in both cases is not open to doubt. But how should it be described? Cohen says that on the Caracalla coin it is a statuette of Victory, but when he comes to the later piece he calls it a helmet. The illustration here given should be sufficient to rule out the idea that it is a helmet, while repeated examination of the original leaves me more than doubtful whether it is a statuette of Victory. I would suggest that it is an infant, with upraised arms, in the act of emerging from the calyx of a flower. As to the symbolism, reference may be made to the observations of Eckhel on a type which occurs on the money of Lucilla and subsequently on that of Julia Mamaea ²⁸

²⁸ *Doctrina Num. Vet.*, vii. pp. 99 f.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS [34]

The thirty-four coins of Alexander Severus were:—C. 9 [2]; C. 13; C. 23 [2]; C. 51; C. 73; C. 95 [2]; C. 183; C. 187; C. 204; C. 218; C. 229; C. 231; C. 239; C. 251 [2]; C. 254; C. 281; C. 305; C. 315; C. 337; C. 388; C. 401; cf. C. 460; C. 498; C. 530 [2]; C. 564 [2]; C. 576; C. 580; and C. 586.

Cohen classes his 460 as 'P.B.', but adds the query "*Vrai petit bronze?*" The appearance here of a genuine denarius indicates that the reply should be in the negative, and that Cohen's piece was merely a bronze core which had been plated or (possibly) washed with silver. The latest coin in the hoard which can be precisely dated is C. 401 [Pl. II. 13], which was issued in A.D. 230. It is by no means the best preserved and has suffered a little through circulation. Making allowance for this, we may infer that the treasure was concealed about A.D. 240 or 250.

JULIA MAMAEA [6]

The conclusion just reached accords well with the condition of the six coins of Mamaea:—C. 5; C. 35 [4]; and C. 85. All are in good condition but none is really first-rate, and all must be earlier than A.D. 235, when she was murdered by the soldiery. The coiffure shown in Pl. II. 14 has been referred to under Julia Domna.

At this point a conspectus of the whole will be useful:—

Republic	1	Domitian	85
Mark Antony	17 ²⁹	Nerva	19
Nero	27	Trajan	215
Galba	14	Hadrian	235
Otho	7	Sabina	19
Vitellius	15	Aelius	5
Vespasian	350	Antoninus Pius	205
Titus	63	Pius and Marcus	7
Julia Titi	1	Faustina Senior	104

²⁹ In the conspectus the three 'restored' denarii have been classed chronologically—that is, under Marcus and Verus.

Marcus Aurelius . . .	122	Plautilla	2
Faustina Junior . . .	100	Geta	13
L. Verus	13	Macrinus	2
Marcus and Verus . . .	3	Diadumenianus . . .	1
Lucilla	15	Elagabalus	27
Commodus	41	Julia Paula	1
Crispina	11	Aquila Severa	1
Didius Julianus . . .	1	Julia Soaemias	7
Clodius Albinus . . .	6	Julia Maesa	8
Septimius Severus . . .	55	Alexander Severus . . .	34
Julia Domna	34	Julia Mamaea	6
Caracalla	33		

These figures give a grand total of 1,925. We may accordingly believe that, inclusive of those stragglers of which it has not been possible to obtain a record, the whole number of coins originally deposited in the jar cannot have fallen much short of 2,000. The amount of capital was thus very considerable. That it was the fruit of a gradual process of accumulation, extending over many years, is proved by the phenomenon referred to in connexion with the examples of Trajan and of Faustina Senior—the wide differences of condition apparent within groups whose members belonged to the same variety and were therefore presumably of the same age. Where this happens, it can only mean that the coins in good preservation were withdrawn from circulation long before the others. Like Rome itself, the hoard was not built in a day.

We have seen reason for thinking that the period of accumulation came to an end about A.D. 240 or 250. A general review of the evidence may supply us with a clue as to when it began. It will be remembered that practically the entire series of first-century specimens, embracing no fewer than 350 minted by Vespasian, had been in constant use for many years.

The earliest for which a circulation-life of less than a decade or two could reasonably be postulated had been struck at the very end of the reign of Domitian or during the reign of Nerva. From that point a steady improvement set in. There was no lack of worn examples of the issues of later emperors and their families, but always—with a significant exception to be touched on presently—there was a high proportion of pieces that were well or very well preserved. It seems justifiable to infer that the foundations of the hoard were laid in the first quarter of the second century. And the inference is borne out by the presence of the Republican denarius. It is unlikely to have been laid away after the news of its demonetization had spread to Britain.

If the conclusion just suggested is sound, then the contents of the jar must represent the thrift of perhaps 120 years, the family savings of four generations. How the money was made, we do not and cannot know. But there are good grounds for believing that it was made to the north of Hadrian's Wall, and that the owners were not Roman intruders. They were natives of Caledonia. In this connexion it may be relevant to recall that fifteen or sixteen years ago a survey of the sporadic finds from various parts of Scotland furnished unmistakable indications that for at least three centuries Roman coins had served as a native currency. The evidence from the hill-settlement on Traprain Law was specially suggestive.³⁰ There—except for what may well be an accidental gap between Faustina

³⁰ See *Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scot.*, lii (1917-18), p. 234, and lviii (1923-24), p. 327.

Senior and Gallienus—the sequence that came to light in the different levels of the occupation-debris was virtually continuous down to Valentinian II. Yet for at least three-fourths of the time the *limes imperii* ran on the south of the Cheviots. It is, therefore, anything but a matter for wonder that a hoard of Roman coins found in Scotland should be a native hoard. Indeed, one may suspect that this was the case with most, if not all, of those that have been previously recorded. That would certainly be the easiest way of accounting for their occurrence in districts which show no other sign of having been under Roman influence—Fife and Kinross, for example, which have been unusually prolific, and even distant Nairnshire.³¹

Up till now, however, there has been no opportunity of putting the matter to the test by sifting the internal evidence. The Falkirk find is the first hoard of Roman silver from Scotland that it has been possible to examine with any approach to completeness. To appreciate its significance, it will be necessary to compare its contents with the contents of similar finds that have been made in the more thoroughly Romanized part of the island. By far the most suitable for the purpose is the great hoard from “somewhere in the East of England”—in fact, I believe, from near Colchester—which was published many years ago by Sir John Evans.³² Beginning with Nero and ending with Julia Mamaea, it consisted of 3,169 pieces, of which 107 were *antoniniani* and the rest *denarii*. The following is a conspectus:—

³¹ See *Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scot.*, lii (1917-18), pp. 257 ff.

³² *Num. Chron.*, 1898, pp. 126-184.

A HOARD OF ROMAN DENARII FROM SCOTLAND. 25

Nero	2	Didius Julianus	1
Galba	1	Clodius Albinus	8
Vitellius	4	Septimius Severus	621
Vespasian	39	Julia Domna	187
Titus	5	(including 10 <i>antoniniani</i>)	
Domitian	18	Julia and Geta	1
Nerva	6	Caracalla	610
Trajan	102	(including 54 <i>antoniniani</i>)	
Hadrian	122	Plautilla	21
Sabina	6	Geta	199
Aelius	1	Macrinus	57
Antoninus Pius	215	(including 2 <i>antoniniani</i>)	
Faustina Senior	70	Diadumenianus	11
Marcus Aurelius	114	Elagabalus	238
Pius and Marcus	1	(including 40 <i>antoniniani</i>)	
Faustina Junior	56	Julia Soaemias	10
L. Verus	26	Julia Maesa	12
Lucilla	14	(including 1 <i>antoninianus</i>)	
Commodus	247	Alexander Severus	125
Crispina	8	Julia Mamaea	8
Pertinax	8		

Alongside of this may be placed a much smaller hoard from a more remote part of Southern Britain—the extreme south of Denbighshire. The great bulk of the coins reached the British Museum, where they were examined by Mr. Mattingly. His report³³ enumerates 507, of which 3 were *antoniniani*, and the series ranges from Mark Antony to Julia Mamaea:—

Mark Antony	12	Faustina Junior	3
Nero	1	Commodus	27
Vespasian	21	Pertinax	1
Titus	2	Clodius Albinus	1
Domitian	3	Septimius Severus	164
Trajan	4	Julia Domna	66
Hadrian	2	Caracalla	81
Antoninus Pius	14	(including 2 <i>antoniniani</i>)	
Faustina Senior	7	Plautilla	2
Marcus Aurelius	9	Geta	27

³³ *Num. Chron.*, 1923, pp. 152 ff.

Macrinus	6	Julia Maesa	8
Diadumenianus	1	Julia Soaemias	3
Elagabalus	31	Alexander Severus	9
(including 1 <i>antoninianus</i>)		Julia Mamaea	2

In the absence of information as to the condition of the coins in the two southern hoards, the comparison must necessarily be less complete than could have been wished. Even as things are, however, we can learn something from the statistics. In all three cases concealment took place about the same time. That being so, some explanation is required of the complete absence of *antoniniani* at Falkirk. The simplest way out is to suppose that the 'new-fangled' denomination was not recognized for currency purposes in the region where the hoard was accumulated. That is more likely to have been the case in Scotland than in any other portion of the island. It is notorious that in such matters semi-civilized peoples are instinctively conservative. It may be added that this is perhaps the reason why the proportion of *antoniniani* in Wales is so very much lower than at Colchester—3 out of 507, as against 107 out of 3,169. Although Denbighshire was within the province, it lay altogether apart from the main current of business life, a geographical accident to which may also be due the presence of no fewer than twelve legionary denarii of Antony in a collection, the general composition of which seems to indicate that it did not begin to take shape until the close of the second century. It is safe to assume that, like the corresponding pieces at Falkirk, these, as well as the twenty-one coins of Vespasian, must have been heavily worn.

The figures appear to point to the latter part of the

reign of Hadrian as the most likely date for the foundation of the Colchester hoard. The first beginnings of the Falkirk hoard must be placed, it will be remembered, about a generation earlier, and we should, therefore, naturally expect it to contain a relatively larger representation of the money of the Flavian Emperors. But the contrast which actually presents itself is far too marked to be explained by even a generation's difference in date—499 out of 1,925 (or more than 25 per cent.) at Falkirk, as against 62 out of 3,169 (or less than 2 per cent.) at Colchester. Some other influence must have been at work. And here, as in the case of the *antoniniani*, it is to geography that we must turn for help. A combination of the evidence from number with that from condition leads to the conclusion that the founder of the Falkirk hoard must have made his 'pile' in some region where the contemporary currency consisted mainly of worn denarii, bearing the image and superscription of Vespasian or of one or other of his sons. Scotland again fulfils the conditions. The frontier troubles which necessitated the erection first of Hadrian's Wall, and then of the Wall of Antoninus Pius, must have involved serious and prolonged interruptions of normal intercourse. The flow of Roman coins into and out of North Britain would be temporarily checked, and there would be no opportunity of replacing old by new. The natives, who had grown accustomed to their use, would have to be content with the specimens that had crossed Cheviot and Solway in more peaceful days.

The hoard, then, is a native hoard, although the coins that went to make it up are Roman. Accordingly, we may take a final glance at the summary of its contents

to see how far, if at all, they reflect the history of the period which they cover. Two points stand out distinctly. In the first place, the astonishingly abundant supply of Flavian silver confirms in striking fashion the deductions drawn fifteen years ago from a survey of the gold-finds.³⁴ There the Flavian or pre-Flavian issues amounted to about 70 per cent. of the whole, while Trajan absorbed about 18 per cent., leaving only a beggarly allowance of less than 12 per cent. for Hadrian and his successors. Nor was there any question of the gold having been a native currency, for none of the *aurei* came from native sites. It appeared to follow that the 'Agricolan' occupation could not possibly have been limited (as used to be supposed) to the three or four years of active campaigning which ended with that general's recall. As Tacitus says, *tradiderat successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque*.³⁵ It must have been then that the dwellers in North Britain learned to employ Roman currency, and then that the great influx of Flavian denarii took place.

The second point of interest shows the other side of the shield. The storms that raged on and about the frontier in the latter half of the second century seem here and there to have left their mark upon the list. Thus, there were only 41 coins of Commodus at Falkirk, as compared with 247 at Colchester. In itself this need not perhaps have had any particular meaning, for in the case of most of the third-century emperors the disparity was even greater, showing that latterly the Colchester capitalist was putting by money much more

³⁴ *Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scot.*, lii (1917-18), pp. 256 f.

³⁵ *Agricola*, 40.

rapidly than his counterpart in Central Scotland, perhaps because the flow of bullion from the south had become little better than a trickle. What is significant is the poor condition of most of the forty-one. The exceptions were minted either before the outbreak of the war in Britain—according to Dio,³⁶ “by far the greatest” in which Commodus was ever engaged—or after it had been brought to a more or less satisfactory conclusion. While hostilities were in progress, economic activities were paralysed. Here the most fruitful comparison is with the issues of later emperors and their families. Among these there are invariably some which show signs of wear, but always there are a few which are in good or even brilliant condition. The denarii of Septimius Severus and those of Caracalla are typical. It is true that during the greater part of the reign of Severus the relations between Rome and North Britain were such as would hardly be conducive to the maintenance of trade. But with the advent of the peace patched up by Caracalla on his father's death there would surely come a revival. And long before that there was an occasion when coins of Severus and his sons were conveyed over the Tweed by a channel that was not commercial. Dio tells us that Virius Lupus, who became governor of the island in A.D. 197, was compelled to purchase peace from the Maeatae at the price of a large sum of money, and the language used implies that the indemnity was paid in cash³⁷—one more proof that Roman money was current among the natives.

³⁶ Bk. lxxii. C. 8.

³⁷ Κατηγαγκάσθη ὁ Λοῦπος μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν εἰρήνην παρὰ τῶν Μαιατῶν ἐκπρίασθαι (Dio, lxxv. 5).

There is a final question which one is tempted to ask, even although it can only receive the most general reply. Why was all this treasure, so plainly "heaped together for the last days", allowed to lie untouched until in the fullness of time it should serve as a parable of the vanity of riches? When a number of hoards that have obviously been buried about the same time are discovered within the same geographical area, it is often possible to connect them with warlike operations of which written history has preserved a record. Thus the Scottish hoards of Roman coins have hitherto appeared to be assignable to one or other of two classes, associated respectively with the earlier and with the later of the two troubled epochs which have first been referred to—the latter part of the second century and the beginning of the third. After the departure of the Romans thick darkness descends upon Central Scotland. The country has no history. That it was nevertheless not entirely happy is the lesson of the Falkirk hoard. The jar must have been buried at some moment when serious disturbances were afoot, when the life and property of civilians were no longer safe. The man who knew where it was hidden was overtaken by the slayers, and his secret perished with him.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

II.

NOTES ON THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY COLLECTIONS.

THE coin collections of the University of Aberdeen have not received the notice they merit in recent years. The important Newnham Davis cabinet of Greek coins was catalogued by B. V. Head, and references to some specimens in it will be found in articles from his pen



FIG. 1.

and elsewhere: but there are considerable numbers of coins, of different series, which await and would probably repay study. As an illustration, notes may be given on a couple of examples seen at a recent visit.

I. SMYRNA. Æ. 23 mm.

Obv.: Head of city-goddess r., with crown of three turrets: traces of previous type, the remains of the legend -- ΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ/-ΡΙΞΟΣ being legible behind the head.

Rev.: Lion standing r.: above, ΙΜΥΡ/ΝΑΙΩΝ, below, ΦΑΝΗΣΜΑ/ΤΡΩΝΟΣ: around, wreath of oak: slight traces of previous type.

This coin shows that the classification of the Smyrna series in *Num. Chron.*, 5, vii (1927), and viii (1928), requires revision in respect of Periods XV and XVI. The

type struck by Phanes was placed, as no. 345, in the same group with that by Hermogenes, numbered 340: but the overstriking in this example suggests that the former belongs to a later issue than the latter. The specimen of 345 in the Ashmolean Museum (illustrated on Plate V of the article cited above) also shows signs of overstriking, though the original types cannot be identified in this case.

Such overstriking is characteristic of Period XVI; nearly all the coins included in this are obviously restruck on earlier types; and it is evidence of a slovenliness of technique that occurs nowhere else in the autonomous coinage of Smyrna. It may fairly be held to justify the placing of 345 in Period XVI, with 359 and 360: like those two, 345 was an emergency issue.

If this be accepted, a further point presents itself for consideration. The types of 345 are those of the silver tetradrachms of Smyrna, not of any ordinary denomination of bronze: and, although the bronze Homereia (which were probably obols) had always borne the same types as the silver drachmas, it seems unlikely that silver types would have been used for an emergency coinage of bronze, unless the bronze was intended to have a special relationship to the silver whose types it shared. Moreover, while the Homereia are quite distinct from the drachmas in their module, the specimens of 345 resemble the tetradrachms in this respect rather closely: and their general appearance, as well as their types, suggests that they were designed as imitations, to be circulated as tetradrachms during a period of financial stress at Smyrna.

This expedient of issuing debased currency is of course

familiar in modern times, and not a few instances can be found in Greece: the plated bronze tetradrachms struck at Athens in the closing years of the Peloponnesian war are well known, and probably a good many of the plated specimens of other series were official products rather than private forgeries: also, coinages of lead or tin in substitution for silver are recorded. It is a natural step for the authorities to take: if a shortage in the supply, or a rise in the price, of the staple metal of their coinage renders it impossible for them to strike coins on their normal standard of weight and fineness, and there is a demand for more currency for purposes of trade, they can diminish either the weight or the fineness; and, in the latter case, may go so far as to substitute an inferior metal. It is possible that the bronze coins of type 345 of Smyrna were originally plated, though no traces of plating remain on the specimens recorded: but there is no great difficulty in assuming that they were frankly put into circulation as tetradrachms without any attempt to conceal the fact that they were bronze.

The conditions at Smyrna, immediately after the first Mithradatic war, were, as far as known, such as would result in a state of financial stress. The city had accepted Mithradates, and would have to pay its share of the indemnity imposed on Asia by Sulla: and, as its prosperity was mainly dependent on trade with the interior of Asia Minor on the one hand and with the West on the other, the former of which would be considerably interrupted by the activities of Mithradates and the latter by the Roman Civil War, it is quite conceivable that it would be reduced to adopting the expedient of a temporary debased currency.

In this case the coins classed in Period XVI should be moved up in date. Period XVII was probably rightly regarded as commencing about 75 B.C., with the revival of prosperity in Asia which followed the measures of Lucullus. Period XV was taken as run-



FIG. 2.

ning from about 85 to about 75, the coins of Hermogenes (no. 340) with the head of Mithradates coming early in the period: and it would seem most natural to find an emergency coinage somewhere in these ten years, possibly about 83 or 82, when the effects of the indemnity and the stoppage of trade would be at their maximum. At this time, it would be natural that the coins of Hermogenes should be overstruck and the head of Mithradates obliterated.

2. ALEXANDRIAN. Æ. 35 mm.

Obv.: Σ ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ Σ Ε ΒΓΕΡ ----- Head r. laur., aegis by neck.

Rev.: Bearded male figure seated r. on high-backed chair, with himation over legs, holding in r. branch of laurel downwards, in l. upright sceptre, round upper part of which a serpent is twined with head r.: before him, handled pyxis with lid, on stand: behind, draped female figure standing r.: in ex., ΛΙΓ.

The date on the reverse is faint, but there can be little doubt of the reading, as the obverse die is the same as that of no. 609 in the Ashmolean Catalogue of Alexandrian coins, which is of year 13, and the traces of the letters suit ΛΙΓ.

The reverse type is apparently unique for Alexandria: it almost certainly represents Asklepios, but this is the only instance in the Alexandrian series where he is shown seated; and the adjuncts, the standing figure, presumably Hygieia, and the pyxis on the stand, though both appropriate to Asklepios, do not occur elsewhere: it may also be noted that the serpent-staff and the chair are of unusual form.

The later years of Trajan's reign saw, as has been remarked (*Ashmolean Catalogue*, p. xxxvi), a great outburst of activity in the production of new types for bronze coins at the Alexandrian mint; and a fair number of these types were devoted to the representation of local deities of Egypt. These deities were, however, in every case Graeco-Egyptian rather than Egyptian: the old Egyptian gods and goddesses had been equated with counterparts from Hellenic mythology, and, so far as Alexandria was concerned, the worship paid to them was quite as much Greek in form as Egyptian. The mint-artists of Alexandria, when they wished to portray these Graeco-Egyptian deities, emphasized the Greek side of the conception, as was natural for men who had been trained in Hellenistic traditions of art: they normally used a Greek type, but added attributes intended to give an Egyptian tone.

In the case of Asklepios, the artists were confronted with a difficulty: he had been identified with the Egyptian divinized sage Imhotep; but Imhotep had

no special attributes which could be recognized as distinctly Egyptian. They seem to have tried to get over the difficulty by giving the figure of Asklepios what they considered to be an Egyptian pose, with one hand pointing towards the mouth. This was a well-known gesture in representations of Harpokrates: but it occurs in this period under Trajan in types which cannot be regarded as Harpokrates or any form of Horus, and it would appear that the Alexandrians thought that it was peculiarly Egyptian. The effect is rather spoilt in this particular case by the clumsy addition of the serpent-staff: the figure was a stock figure, and the staff was put in regardless of the fact that the hand pointing to the mouth could neither hold it nor rest on it properly.

Like most of the new types introduced at the Alexandrian mint in the later years of Trajan, this type of Asklepios did not 'catch on': although Asklepios appears fairly frequently on the coinage in later years, from Hadrian onwards, it is only in a standing figure or a bust, and there is no Egyptian attribute or pose. If the intention of the official who directed the designs at the mint was to develop a new range of types, as had been done with some success a little earlier in the tenth year of Domitian, he failed: few of his types were repeated, nor were similar ideas adopted by later designers. Examples of nearly all these issues of Trajan are exceptionally rare, even for Alexandrian bronze drachmas, which suggests that the output was small, and that the mint was controlled by an artist of fertile imagination who was more concerned to display his ability in inventing types than to make them suitable to business requirements.

III.

A LIST OF BYZANTINE BRONZE COINS

NOT RECORDED BY WROTH IN HIS CATALOGUE OF
THE IMPERIAL BYZANTINE COINS IN THE BRITISH
MUSEUM, AND NOW ADDED TO THAT COLLECTION.

IN 1914, as some distraction from heavy scientific labour and the distressful times then occurring, it seemed to me desirable to study the bronze coinage of the Byzantine Empire as a subject needing investigation. On reading De Saulcy, Sabatier, Wroth, and later Tolstoi, with many lesser papers, it appeared that the British Museum collection, though representative, was deficient in many parts, and it would be desirable to try to bring it up to first-class importance in the bronze series. This, after examining thousands of coins, I have happily been able to do, and Mr. Allan and Mr. Mattingly have asked me to prepare this list of the additions made to that collection which are not recorded in Wroth's Catalogue. The time has not yet arrived for the publication of a corpus of Byzantine Bronze, but this list may help somewhat to so desirable an end. I have collated the whole of previous lists known to me, but this list mentions only those coins which I have added to the National collections.

ANASTASIUS I.

M CON. (Large module), a star between two dots, B, €
(Small module), star and crescent, € (*N. C.*,
xxvi, 1918, 43).¹

¹ *N. C.* = Spink's *Numismatic Circular*.

I (CON). (Sm. module), with € reversed.

M NIC. (Sm. module), Δ

K NI. (Sm. module), Δ

M ANTX. Star and crescent, Λ (Tolstoi, xiii. 36).

JUSTINUS I.

M CON. On r. cross, on l. cross, € (Tolstoi, xvi. 37).

K — (La. module), Δ
— (Sm. module), no letter.

€ — Γ
— In upright rectangle, open at base, + above,
r. and l. star. (*N. C.*, xli, 1933, 287.)
Mr. R. H. Cunningham was the first to
acquire this coin.

M ANTX. R. star, l. crescent, B

€ — Tyche (IVSTEINVS).

€ (? Rome). In wreath, with cross.

JUSTINUS I AND JUSTINIANUS I.

M CON. B

I ANTX. (*N. C.*, xxii, 1914, 635).

JUSTINIANUS I.

Bust to r.

M CON. L. star, r. cross, Λ (apparently bearded).

— L. cross, r. cross on ball, Γ

K — No letter. (*Sab.*, xiv. 15.)

I — R. and l. long cross (struck over W. x. 6).

Μ ΘΥΠΟΛΣ. B

I CAR. $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ VI \end{smallmatrix}$

Ε monogram. In front, R

Full-face type.

Μ CON. $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ \psi I \end{smallmatrix}$ Γ, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ \psi I \\ II \end{smallmatrix}$ Ε, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ \psi I \\ III \end{smallmatrix}$ Δ, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ II \\ I \end{smallmatrix}$ Β, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ II \\ II \end{smallmatrix}$ Ε, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ \psi \end{smallmatrix}$ Β,

$\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ X \end{smallmatrix}$ Β, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ X \\ II \end{smallmatrix}$ Δ

Κ — $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ \psi I \\ II \end{smallmatrix}$ Δ, $\begin{smallmatrix} XX \\ \psi III \end{smallmatrix}$ Δ

Μ ΝΙΚΟ. $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ \psi I \\ II \end{smallmatrix}$ Β, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ II \\ II \end{smallmatrix}$ Β, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ \psi \end{smallmatrix}$ Β

Κ — XIII, $\begin{smallmatrix} X\psi I \\ III \end{smallmatrix}$

Μ ΚΥΖ. $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \end{smallmatrix}$ Β, $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ \psi I \end{smallmatrix}$ Β

Κ — ψ , $X\psi$, $\begin{smallmatrix} X\psi I \\ I \end{smallmatrix}$, $\begin{smallmatrix} XX \\ II \end{smallmatrix}$

Μ ΤΗΕΥΡΟ. $X\psi$ Δ (no star).

$\psi\eta\psi\overset{\circ}{\Gamma}$. $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ III \end{smallmatrix}$ Ε (N. C., xxxiii, 1925, 117.)

Κ $\overset{\circ}{\Gamma}$. XXI, $XX\psi III$

I ΤΗΥΡ/. $\begin{smallmatrix} X \\ X \\ I \end{smallmatrix}$

K KART. XXII PA (N. C., xxxiii, 1925, 117.)

I (Ravenna). XXX (W., p. 71; but ? Sicily.)

JUSTINUS II.

Justinus alone full-face.

M ΤΗΕΥΡ. I (between two stars).

K ΤΕΣ. I

K °+. III

I ΤΗΕΥΡ. II (between two stars).

Bust to r.

X (in wreath; IVSTNINVS).

IB CART. (? barbaric ΑΛΕΞ).

Two seated figures.

M CON. III Γ; II Λ, Ε; 4 Ε; 4I B̂; 4 II B, Γ, Δ;

4
II Λ, Δ, Ε; X Ε; X II Δ, Γ, Ε

K — I Δ; 4I Λ; 4III Λ; X B

M NIKO. 4 II B

M KYZ. I B; II B; 4I B; 4II Γ; X B

K — 4II

M ΤΗΕΥΡ/. II Γ; 4 II Γ (2); 4 III Γ; X Γ

K Ε. 4I II

I ΤΗΕΥΡ. 4; 4 II (reversed).

TIBERIUS CONSTANTINE.

M CON. (In armour) II A

M NIKO. (In armour) II A

M ΤΗΕΥΡ. II, 4, 4, 4I, 4I, 4, 4, 4II, 4

XX P. II, III

K P. 4I

X P. III, 4

MAURICIUS.

M CON. II Δ, Γ; II Δ; 4 Δ; 4I B, E; 4 II Δ, E;

X A; X II A, Γ; X 4 E; X 4II Γ; X S; X Δ

K — 4 B, Γ; 4I E; 4II B; 4II B; X Δ; X 4 A;
X 4II A; XX B. Γ

I — Γ

K ΤΕΣ. III, IIII

M NIKO. II B; 4II B; X A, B; II A, III B

M KYZ. X 4 B; 4 4 B, Γ

M ΤΗΕΥΡ. X Δ

K P. XIII, XIII, X4I, XX

I ΤΗΕΥΡ. 4, X
III, 4I

XX KPT⁴. €

X — NM

V — NM

I CAT. 911

X (Rome). With two pellets.

PHOCAS AND LEONTIA.

M THERP. I (no nimbus).

HERACLIUS.

M CON. $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{II} \\ \text{II} \end{smallmatrix}$ A

K — I r

I CAT. V

IB AΛEZ. Cross and M

M NIK. I B

M KYZ. $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{III} \\ \text{I} \end{smallmatrix}$ B

HERACLIUS AND H. CONSTANTINE.

M CON. $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{II} \\ \text{I} \end{smallmatrix}$ r; $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X} \\ \text{X} \\ \text{II} \end{smallmatrix}$ r; $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X} \\ \text{X} \\ \text{U} \end{smallmatrix}$ r, NΛ — $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X} \\ \text{X} \end{smallmatrix}$ r

K — X B; XX B (N. C., xxx, 1922, 501.)

M SEUSQ. II A; 91 A

K SES. 91 B (N. C., xxxiii, 1925, 117.)

Λ ΘΕC. $\begin{smallmatrix} \times \\ \times \end{smallmatrix} \Gamma$

Λ SC. $\begin{smallmatrix} \times \\ \times \end{smallmatrix} \Gamma$

Κ ΔΛΕΞ. XIII (N. C., xxxiii, 1925, 117.)

HERACLIUS, H. CONSTANTINE AND MARTINA.

Μ CON. $\begin{smallmatrix} \eta \\ \Pi \end{smallmatrix} \Lambda$; X Λ

Μ THP. $\begin{smallmatrix} \times \\ \eta \end{smallmatrix} \text{B}$

Μ ΚΥΠΡ. $\begin{smallmatrix} \times \\ \Pi \\ \Gamma \end{smallmatrix}$

HERACLIUS, H. CONSTANTINE AND HERACLEONAS.

Μ CON. $\begin{smallmatrix} \times \\ \times \\ \times \end{smallmatrix} \Gamma$; $\begin{smallmatrix} \times \\ \times \\ \times \\ \Gamma \end{smallmatrix}$

Κ ROM. V

CONSTANS II.

Μ CON. ΙNPER COHST. I, $\begin{smallmatrix} \Gamma \\ \Gamma \end{smallmatrix}$, $\begin{smallmatrix} \Pi \\ \Gamma \end{smallmatrix} \text{B}$ (N. C., xxvi, 1918, 43.)

Ξ B. (N. C., xxx, 1922, 501.)

Κ ΝΙΚΟ. (N. C., xxvi, 1918, 43.)

XX C T. + in centre. (N. C., xxvi, 1918, 43.)

Ι $\begin{smallmatrix} + \text{N} & \Lambda \\ \Lambda \text{O} & \text{N O} \\ \text{N A} & \cdot \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ No beard.

ENTOT O NIKA *series.*

$\begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ N \\ N \\ \underline{O} \end{array} m$ (N. C., xxvii, 1919, 253.)

$\begin{array}{c} + \\ \Delta \\ N \\ \Delta \end{array} m \begin{array}{c} N \\ \epsilon \\ O \end{array}$ 4E, EI (N. C., xxx, 1922, 501.)

$\begin{array}{c} K \\ \Delta \\ N \\ \Delta \end{array} m \begin{array}{c} N \\ \epsilon \\ \underline{O} \end{array}$ (N. C., xxvii, 1919, 253.)

$\begin{array}{c} \Delta N \Delta \\ O \\ \Phi \\ \Delta \end{array} m \begin{array}{c} N \\ \epsilon \\ O \end{array}$ (N. C., xxviii, 1920, 183.)

$\begin{array}{c} N \epsilon \\ \Delta \\ N \\ \underline{\quad} \end{array} m$ (N. C., xxviii, 1920, 183.)

$\begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ N \\ \Delta \end{array} M \Delta$

$\begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ N \\ \Delta \end{array} M \begin{array}{c} X \\ III \end{array} \Delta$
NEO4

Three standing figures.

M countermarked with a thick K. (N. C., xxviii, 1920, 183.)

CONSTANS II AND CONSTANTINE IV.

$\begin{array}{c} M \\ \underline{\quad} \\ SCL \end{array} \begin{array}{c} * \\ + \end{array}$ (N. C., xxvii, 1919, 253.)

K X Δ (Cf. W. 261.)

IB (N. C., xxviii, 1920, 183.)

CONSTANTINE IV.

\overline{M} (N. C., xxx, 1922, 502.)
 \overline{SCL}

JUSTINIANUS II.

+ \overline{M} +
 PAX

\overline{M} (N. C., xxv, 1917, 148.)
 \overline{SCL}

JUSTINIANUS II AND TIBERIUS.

Bust of Christ (W. 11 but bronze, with two stars on *rev.*).
 (N. C., xxvii, 1919, 253.)

LEO III AND CONSTANTINE V.

\wedge
 $\epsilon \quad \epsilon$
 $\circ \quad \circ$ (N. C., xxv, 1917, 148.)
 $\cap \quad \vee$

MICHAEL II AND THEOPHILUS.

$\begin{matrix} X & & N \\ X & \overline{M} & N \\ X & \ominus & N \end{matrix}$ (N. C., xxx, 1922, 502.)

JOHN I.

With + X +

With - * -

Cf. W. 23, but no ornament above inscription.

BASIL II AND CONSTANTINE VIII.


With - \odot - above and below. (Cf. W. 40.)

” - Γ - ” ”


” - * - ” ”


” - \diamond - ” ”

CONSTANTINE VIII.

With  above and below. (*N. C.*, xxvi, 1918, 43.)

MICHAEL IV.

 in nimbus.

 — (*N. C.*, xxvi, 1918, 43.)

bASILE thrice repeated.

CONSTANTINE X.

Broken, but struck on W. lxi. 9, so cannot be Michael VI
as stated by Wroth. (*N. C.*, xxvi, 1918, 43.)

CONSTANTINE X AND EUDOCIA.

Differs from usual type in the labarum.

ROMANUS IV.

Christ without book.

MICHAEL VII.

Robe with only six jewels.

ALEXIUS I.

Bust of A. Bust of Christ. (*Cf. W.* 33.)

Bust of A. Bust of Virgin. (*N. C.*, xxv, 1917, 148.)

ALEXIUS I AND JOHN II.

Scyphate (pierced thrice). (*Cf. Sab.* liv.)

JOHN II.

Half-length of J. Bust of St. Demetrius. (*N. C.*, xxvii, 1919, 253.)

MANUEL I.

Scyphate. M. with labarum and sword. Virgin seated.
(*My* 14, 15, and 24.)

Bust of M. Bust of St. George. (*Cf. W.* 78.)

ISAAC II.

Bust of I. Winged bust of St. Michael.

I. and the Virgin. Christ on throne with hand upraised.
(*N. C.*, xxx, 1922, 502.)

I. standing. Virgin standing to r. with arms upraised.
(*N. C.*, xli, 1933, 287.)

ANDRONICUS II AND MICHAEL IX.

Two emperors standing. Bust of Christ. (*N. C.*, xxvii, 1919, 254.)

CHARLES DAVIES SHERBORN.

IV.

A UNIQUE COIN OF AGRIPPA.

IN 1931 the British Museum acquired¹ from the Santamaria Sale at Rome of May 15th, 1928 through the friendly offices of Dr. L. A. Lawrence the following coin :



Obv. M. AGRIPPA LAS PRAE C. (round edge, l. to r. inwardly). Head of Agrippa, bare, l.

Rev. CAESAR (across field above, inwardly). III VIR. RPC (round edge, below, outwardly). Triskelis with legs running clockwise, with large winged Medusa head as centre.

Æ. 1-2. 424.4 grs. (27.5 grm.). Thick flan, with rounded edge.

After AGRIPPA on obverse there are traces of letters RA(?): the C after PRAE is probably a letter, not a flaw in the die. Perhaps restore, ORAE MAR ET CLAS. On reverse, C is presumably to be restored before CAESAR: there is room for a letter.

Before we discuss the meaning and interest of the coin, we must first examine its claim to be considered

¹ Reported in *British Museum Quarterly*, 1931, pp. 45, 46.

genuine; for it is only fair to admit that it has certain features that have aroused suspicion. The flan is uncommon for the period and closely resembles the flan of Sicilian bronze of the fourth century B.C. The head on obverse is in rather better preservation than the rest of the coin. It is surprising to find a portrait of Agrippa, and Agrippa alone, on a coin of Octavian; and, if the reference of the reverse were to the battle of Naulochus, we should expect Octavian to be **IIIVIR R. P. C. ITER**, not merely **IIIVIR R. P. C.** Yet in spite of all these difficulties, we can hardly refuse to accept the piece as genuine. Its general surface condition is immensely in its favour: the reverse, in particular, could only show its present appearance if it had first been brilliantly engraved by an expert forger and then most artfully defaced, to counterfeit wear. As regards the flan, we might imagine a re-strike on an old Sicilian coin. But the supposition is not necessary; as coins of Augustus and Julius Caesar, of Caralis in Sardinia,² show a very similar fabric. The remaining difficulties can best be answered in a commentary on the coin itself.

Our coin, then, represents Agrippa on the obverse, as "Prefect of the sea-coast (?) and fleet". The final **C** of the legend perhaps represents **C(OS = consul)**; it is an unusual abbreviation, but not at all suggestive of a forger. The Medusa-head and triskelis of the reverse symbolize Sicily;³ Octavian, Agrippa's principal, is

² Cf. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, ii, p. 149, who assigns this, probably in error, to Carthage. My attention was called to this parallel by my colleague, Mr. Robinson.

³ Cp. denarii of Lentulus and Marcellus, 49 B.C. (*B.M.C. Rep.* ii, p. 558, nos. 1 ff.) as one example of many.

represented only by the legend of the reverse. Agrippa was consul in 37 B.C.: the treaty of Tarentum, at which Antony and Octavian renewed their office as triumvirs and planned common action against Sextus Pompey, fell in the summer of that year. As Octavian's preparations for the war against Sicily had already begun in 38 B.C., there is no difficulty in assigning our coin to a date in 37 B.C. before the treaty of Tarentum. If struck for Naulochus, 36 B.C., we ought to find Octavian "III VIR. R. P. C. ITER": and though it is thinkable that the moneyer might in error omit the repetition, it is more satisfactory, if possible, to avoid that supposition. The honour of portraiture given to Agrippa is indeed surprising to us who have learnt to regard it as characteristic of that great man to efface himself behind his friend. But the coin was not minted in Rome—possibly at Caralis in Sardinia. There was precedent for representing by portraits other commanders than the triumvirs.⁴ Nor need we suppose that Octavian approved or that Agrippa chose to repeat the experiment: perhaps that is why our coin is unique.

The portrait of Agrippa compares reasonably well with what we know of him on other coins: it is not an exact replica of any of them.⁵ We are probably safe in adding the evidence of this new coin to our materials for the life-history of the great general and admiral of Augustus.

H. MATTINGLY.

⁴ e.g. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, c. 42-41 B.C., see *B.M.C. Rep.* ii, p. 487, nos. 93 ff., Marcus, c. 43-42 B.C., *ibid.* p. 485, no. 86.

⁵ Cf. mint of Rome, C. Sulpicius Platorinus, *B.M.C. Rep.* ii, p. 96, nos. 4653 ff. Cossus Lentulus, *ibid.* p. 101, no. 4671: asses struck by Tiberius or Caligula, *B.M.C. Emp.* i, p. 142, nos. 161 ff. For the portrait of Agrippa, see L. Curtius in *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Rom)*, 1933, pp. 192 ff.

V.

THE COINAGE WITH ROSES AND PLUMES.

DR. ARTHUR RAISTRICK, of Armstrong College, University of Durham, has kindly sent me particulars of the London Lead Company (i.e. the Governor and Company for Smelting down Lead with Pit Coal and Sea Coal), with extracts from their minutes, which relate to the adoption of the Roses and Plumes as the distinction of the coinage struck from the silver which was supplied by this Company.¹

In addition to the extracts printed below Dr. Raistrick has given me the following note of the Company's sales to the Royal Mint. "The Company were selling silver to the Tower in 1704, at the rate approximately of 750 lbs. wt. per year, in 1712 the amount had risen to about 1,200 lbs. wt., and in 1720 to over 2,000 lbs. wt. This was really the period when their mines were being opened and established, and the rise in output was considerable after this period. Between 1705 and 1737, the covering dates of the coinage, they refined silver mainly at Gadlis, Flintshire, from lead mined in Halkyn Mountain; at Acton and other mills in and around Alston Moor; at Wanlock Head, S. Scotland; and at the Alva silver mine, near Stirling. A number of silver lead mines were also

¹ Hawkins, *Silver Coins*, 1887, p. 339, states the fact without any information of the Company or of its sources of supply. Grueber, *Handbook* 1899, p. 141, said that these coins were struck from English and Welsh silver combined.

worked in County Tipperary by the Company, but they were small compared with the others."

The minutes contain no direct reference to the stopping of the supply of silver to the Mint in 1737, but Dr. Raistrick points out that by 1736 nearly all the Quaker originators of the Company were dead,² and a new Governor for 1737, with an almost entirely new Court of Assistants, called for a reorganization of the trade and finance section of the Company. The old Company had on most occasions discussed the "public service" value of all their operations, but this was now changed to discussion of profits and dividends. Nearly all the Company's investments were changed about 1737. This will explain the refusal to sell at a Mint price lower than market price.

The following minutes relate to the establishment of this distinction on the coinage made from the Company's silver, and add also an interesting passage between the Mint and the Company over the obligation of the Company to supply. The Minute books, from which the extracts are taken, are in the Library of the North of England Institute of Mining Engineers, at Newcastle.

THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY FOR SMELTING DOWN LEAD WITH PIT COAL AND SEA COAL.

At a Meeting of the Court of Assistants, etc.

London.

18th Dec. 1705.

The Board took into consideration what Distinction would be proper to be procured by a Grant from the Lord High Treasurer, to be put upon the Coinage of ye Silver of this Corporation.

² Dr. Raistrick informs me that the Rose and Plume coins of George I are still known to a few Friends as 'Quaker Shillings'.

That inasmuch as this Corporation doth make Silver both in England & Wales, the Lord High Treasurer be petitioned for Two Roses and Two Feathers Quartered, as the emblems of England & Wales.

RESOLVED That the Governor, Mr. Deputy Governor, Mr. Treasurer and Mr. John Haddon, or any two of them, do Prepare and Petition, And get a Draught of the Distinction so Quartered, And endeavour to obtain a Grant thereof, with all convenient speed.

24th Dec. 1705.

The Deputy Governor Reports yt himself and the other persons appointed ye last day, had prepared a Petition for the Distinction of the Coin that shall be made of the Company's Silver, & Delivered ye same at the Treasury A copy of which he laid before the Board.

8th Jan. 1705 (1706).

Do. (the Treasurer) further Reports that the Lord High Treasurer had been pleased to refer the Petition of this Company to the Officers of the Mint, And that the said Officers had been attended with the Charter, And that the Report of that Board was gone to the Treasury in favour of the Corporation, so that it is not doubted that a warrant for the Distinction on the Coin made of this Company's Silver will be obtained, the Care of which is continued to the persons formerly appointed.

12th March 1705 (1706).

Do. further Reports that the Lord High Treasurer is gone to New Market, without ordering the warrant for a Distinction on the Coin of this Companys Silver, Upon which he had spoke to the Deputy Master of the Mint about it, who had promised the Coinage of it shall tarry for the warrant.

30th April 1706.

The Deputy Governor Reported that he had been at the Treasury And that he had brought down the Warrant from the Queen, for a Mark of Distinction on the Coin of this Companys Silver, and delivered it to the Mint, And that the Charges of obtaining the same came to £5 14s. 6d.

14th Dec. 1708. Ordered—

That the Deputy Governor, the Treasurer or either of them do endeavour to get a new warrant for a distinction of the money of the company that shall be coined at the Mint.

21st Dec. 1708.

Treasurer reported that he had discussed the question with the deputy Master of the Mint and that endeavours would be made to meet the Company's wish.

18th Jan. 1709.

The Treasurer reported that the warrant for the distinction of the Company's coin is ready.

Anne R.

Whereas our High Treasurer of England hath laid before us as well the petition of ye Governor and Company for Smelting down lead with pit cole and sea coal praying for their encouragement that we would be graciously pleased to direct you the Master and worker of our Mint to coyn such silver as they shall produce from such lead with the mark of distinction affixed to their said petition as also the report made by you and the rest of the principall officers of our Mint thereupon and we being graciously pleased to gratifie the petitioners in their said request our will and pleasure is and we do hereby will and direct authorise and command that all such silver as shall be brought into our said mint extracted from lead by the aforesaid art of smelting and refining be from time to time coyned with all convenient speed into the current coyns of this our realm with the mark of distinction on each respective piece as in the form requested in the draught to their said petition hereunto annexed and for so doing this shall be your warrant given at our court in St. James the 20th day of Aprill 1706 in the fifth year of our reigne

by her Majesties command
Godolphin

To our Trusty and Wellbeloved Sr. Isaac Newton Knt.
Master and worker of our Mint.

Anne R.

Whereas the Gov. and Company for smelting downe lead with pit cole and sea cole have humbly besought us upon the occasion of the Union to renew the directions we gave by our warrant bearing date the 20th Aprill 1706 in the 5th year of our Reign for coyning such silver as they shall extract from such lead with the mark of distinction depicted in the margeant—and we being graciously pleased to condescend to their request our will and pleasure is and we do hereby direct authorise and require you to cause all such silver as shall be brought into our said Mint and ex-

tracted from lead by the aforesaid art of smelting and refining to be from tyme to tyme coyned into the current coynes of this our Realme with the mark of distinction on each respective piece as in the forme represented in the margeant and for so doing this shall be your warrant given at our court at St. James the 29th December 1708 in the 7th year of our Reigne

By her Majesties command
Godolphin

To our Trusty and Wellbeloved
Sr Isaac Newton Knt
Master and worker of our Mint.

At a Meeting of the Court of Assistants, etc. London.

30th Jan. 1766 (true style).

A letter from the Sollicitors of the Mint, dated 19th Dec. 1765 received.

"Gentlemen, I waited on you today by Direction of the Mint to acquaint you that they have not at present any Silver in the Office and as the Coinage of the small Money for the Maunday approaches, the Office is under the necessity of reminding you of the terms of your Charter and to desire you would forthwith order some Silver to be sent in as the same is always appropriated for the Service of the Maunday.

Wm. Chamberlayne
Sollicitor to the Mint."

The Court are of opinion the Charter does not oblige them to send their silver to the Mint & besides, while the Coinage price of $5/2d$ per oz. is so much under the Market price it would be a Manifest loss to the Company. And the Sollicitor of the Mint having called again at the Office the Secretary showed him the Charter, after reading of which the Sollicitor said he saw nothing therein that obliged the Company to send their Silver to the Mint.

27th Feb. 1766.

Mr. Chamberlayne, Sollicitor to the Mint came to the Court about the Companys sending Silver to the Tower and mentioned the Act of 1st William & Mary Chap. 30 to which the Court gave for answer that they were ready to send Silver to the Mint Provided the Company were to receive the full and true Value, but they did not think the Company obliged by the Act 1st William & Mary Chap. 30 to sell the Company's Silver at $5/2d$ per oz. which is the Mint price.

There are no further references anywhere to this matter, and the Company continue to sell their Silver to private dealers.

The Charter of the Co. is published in full in Selden Soc. vol. 28 (1913), pp. 228-230, and noted in Pat. Rolls. 4 Wm & M. pt. vii. Dom. Ser. 1691-2, p. 178 & ff.

I am indebted to Dr. Raistrick for communicating these notes to me, and also to the Council of the North of England Institute of Mining Engineers, who have, at his request, kindly granted me permission to reproduce and use these extracts.

G. C. BROOKE.

REVIEWS.

The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia. By EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A. Pp. 138. Spink & Son, Ltd., London, 1933.

This neat and attractive little volume fills in one more of the gaps in our equipment for the study of the coins of the Roman Empire. Professor Vogt, some years since, gave us a valuable study of the mint of Alexandria. Dr. Wruck has in hand the mint of Antioch and its neighbours in Syria. Mr. Sydenham now adds Caesarea—a worthy third in the sequence.

For the general plan and execution of the book we have nothing but praise. An introduction of twenty-four pages deals clearly and succinctly with the general problems of the mint—style, chronology, types, and the like. Then follows the Corpus of the coins, beautifully set out, with notes of weights for all the silver, and good, if not over-full, illustration. A few hours' study will now place one in full command of the facts of the mint history. Omissions are few: but on p. 32 we miss, beside the didrachm, the drachm, with the famous type of Germanicus crowning Artaxias.

The opening of the imperial mint is probably rightly placed *circa* A.D. 30 rather than A.D. 17. Regnal years of Emperors are not uncommonly used for dating: but it is not clearly stated—it probably cannot be determined—whether they are years of the tribunician power or not. The alternation between Greek and Latin languages is of interest both as evidence of culture and as a criterion of the status of the mint. Caesarea, apparently, was a dual mint—local as well as provincial—but the two sides of its activity cannot always be clearly distinguished. Under Trajan Caesarea enjoyed a supremacy in the East, which it had not known before and never regained later. Possibly the memory of this heyday of the mint has led the author to exaggerate slightly the normal importance of Caesarea. A curious group of drachmae of Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus is correctly assigned to an unknown Eastern mint rather than to Caesarea, while it is pointed out that the group in some degree corresponds to a gap in that series. In view of Dr. Heichelheim's latest theory of the fall of the denarius

under Commodus, the drop in weight of the didrachm at this mint during his reign deserves close attention.

The types of Caesarea are not without interest. To some extent they are drawn from the normal stock of the imperial mint of Rome. Many popular types, however, are purely local. The most famous of these by far is the type of Mons Argaeus, rendered with a wealth of variety and detail. The radiate figure who stands on the summit is here associated, perhaps on rather slight evidence, with the imperial cult. However this may be, the local cult itself may have its roots very far back in the past—perhaps even as far back as the great Empire of the Hittites.

This book should be on the shelves of all students of Greek and Roman coins.

H. A. M.

Siscia: Vorarbeiten zu einem Corpus der in Siscia geprägten Römermünzen. By A. ALFÖLDI. (Reprinted from *Numizmatikai Közlemény* (xxvi-xxvii—in German and Hungarian, 1927-1928. Pp. 14-58, Pl. 7.) L. Zimmermann, Budapest IV, Váci utca 78/80. 5s.

This important essay by our Honorary Fellow, Professor Andreas Alföldi, is now procurable in pamphlet form, and as English readers may easily have missed it at its first appearance in the Hungarian Numismatic Journal, they may welcome a short account of it now.

Alföldi is a worthy modern successor of that great Viennese school of numismatists—Missong, Markl, Rohde, Kolb, Voetter, and the rest—who did so much last century for the study of third-century Roman coins. Their results, impressive in their solidarity and completeness, have unfortunately only been in small part published. Even now Alföldi does not venture to offer a "Corpus" of the coins of Siscia, but, very modestly, only preliminary studies for such a Corpus.

Alföldi begins by a short study of the origins of Roman coinage in Pannonia. He observes acutely that the fact that Herodian attributes coins to the young Perennis in Pannonia Inferior at least raises the question whether there was a mint there under Commodus. The special evidence for a mint of Severus in A.D. 193, however, appears to us very shaky. Alföldi is no doubt on safe ground in placing the opening of the mint of Siscia in A.D. 262: but we can no longer regard it very confidently as the successor of the mint of Viminacium, now that so many coins formerly attributed to Viminacium are indicated, by their prevalence at Doura on the Euphrates, to be of Eastern mintage.

In his attribution of coins to Siscia, Alföldi naturally and rightly sets out from the pioneer work of Voetter. He is able, however, to amplify Voetter's material very considerably and can profit by a long experience of the special problems involved in the study of the age of inflation. A major change is that Alföldi removes from the mint a small group of coins, signed SIP, PIII, which we have up to now regarded as characteristic of Siscia. He regards them as the product of a small mint, possibly in Pannonia Secunda (SIP, PIII), short-lived and later in origin than that of Siscia. This suggestion, supported as it is by Alföldi's special expertness in this field, deserves the most careful consideration.

The coins are first arranged and discussed under three distinct periods, finally assembled in alphabetical lists at the end. The most interesting types of the first period are "Io. Cantab." and "Siscia Aug." "Iuppiter Cantaber" is, in Alföldi's view, the patron of the cavalry, the *corps d'élite* of Gallienus. "Siscia Augusti" stresses the personal relations of the town to the Emperor. In the second period "Felicitas Aeterna" is no mere conventional banality, but the ideal happiness of a golden age restored. We meet by the way with interesting discussions on the relation of the local mint authorities to head-quarters at Rome and on the abuses that they allowed themselves: the coins tell tales, even where the literary authorities are silent.

Finally Alföldi comments on a most interesting, but as yet little noted, feature of the third century—the comparison and contrast of the Emperor, the Saviour of the State, and Jesus, the Saviour of the Church. The "Adventus" of the Emperor is a sacred occasion, often described in language similar to that used of the Second Advent of Christ. The Emperor, no less than Jesus, is represented as a "Prince of Peace". Whether Alföldi is right, however, in regarding the AVGVSTA IN PACE legend of Salonina as a mere borrowing from or echo of Christian ideas is more doubtful. Tradition makes Salonina herself a Christian. The golden age can be represented either in a pagan or in a Christian setting. And, just as the Emperor may be described as Saviour, so the Christian will sometimes apply the name of "imperator" to Christ. The whole of this section should be read with close attention for its new interest and stimulus.

It is unnecessary to spend many words in praise of Alföldi's work. It is well known, wherever Roman coins are studied, for its accuracy, its learning, its originality and acumen. The first part of his *Siscia* will certainly enhance

his reputation: and, as the early appearance of the sequel probably depends largely on the measure of support given by readers to part I, this is an additional reason for recommending English students to buy and study the book for themselves.

H. M.

Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet of Assam. By A. W. BOTHAM, 2nd edition. Pp. viii, 577. 6 plates.

The cabinet of coins in Shillong now contains over 4,000 coins, more than three times the number described in the first edition of this catalogue published in 1919. The most notable increases are in the series of Sultans of Bengal and the Moghul Empire, both of which are now quite representative. It is naturally in the coins of Assam that this collection specializes, and the collection of Ahom kings is now very large and fine; although still weak in gold it is remarkably strong in the coins of the later short-lived rulers. The collections of Koch and Kachari kings and of the kings of Jaintiapur are equally rich. This catalogue also contains the first classification of the small base metal coins of Manipur, but so far Shillong has not acquired any of the rupees. We are grateful to the enterprise of Mr. Botham and the enlightened policy of the government of Eastern Bengal and Assam in making this collection accessible in so handsome a fashion; it is an example which ought to be followed by other provincial governments.

J. A.

VI.

THE SPROXTON THEODOSIAN HOARD.

NICHOLS in his *History of Leicestershire* (i. 619),¹ says: "Fig. 16 (Pl. XLVI) is a small urn, found in 1811, at Sproxton in this county, containing exactly 100 silver coins; which was presented by the Rev. William Mounsey, vicar of Sproxton, to his Grace the Duke of Rutland." A footnote refers to "Additions to Sproxton in Framland Hundred", where (iv, p. 1045) an account of the discovery is given almost identical with that quoted below.

Through the kind offices of Mr. Hugh Goodacre the present writer was enabled to ascertain that these coins are preserved at Belvoir Castle, and he is most grateful to His Grace the Duke of Rutland for placing the hoard and manuscripts relating to it at his disposal for the purpose of a proper examination.

The finding of the coins is also recorded in the manuscript Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the writer has to thank that Society for permission to copy the entry. It is as follows² :—

The Secretary then read the following Notices of certain Roman Antiquities, by the Rev^d William Mounsey: and communicated to the Society by Edward Turnor, Esq^{re}, F.A.S. [*Various dykes & Roman remains described*]. All which are within three or four miles of the Village of Sproxton, in the County of Leicester; near which, an Urn containing 100 Roman Silver Coins in very fine preservation (now in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Rutland) was lately found.

¹ Quoted in *V.C.H. Leics.* i. 217; cf. also *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1811, p. 412.

² xxxiii, pp. 14, 16-17 (14th November, 1811).

The following is a general, though imperfect, description of the circumstances, the situation, and the Coins.

On Saturday the 11th of May 1811, as a man was clearing away the Earth on the Road, to lower and ease the declivity of a Hill in the Parish of Sproxtton, he observed by the falling of the Earth which he had undermined, something that he took to be a round piece of iron rolling to one side. From the earth that fell, he is clear that it could not have lain less than three feet from the surface, or more than four. Finding it to be a little pot filled with earth, he had the curiosity to dig the earth out with his knife, and to his surprise observed the Coins above mentioned, wedged in edgeways firmly and closely at the bottom. He counted one hundred on the spot, and is sure there could not have been one more. The place where the discovery was made is a quarter of a mile from Sproxtton Church, on the Highway to Saltby. The Urn is of a coarse dirty brown and white earthen-ware, unglazed, burnt high, and smoked; $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ broad: and resembles much in shape and size a common Gallipot. Near it were found broken pieces of a larger Urn which evidently had perished, and fragments of human bones, and part of a Skull. On the top of the excavation, there has evidently been a tumulus, as the present proprietor of the ground lowered it a few years ago to fill up the hollow beneath, and it remains yet higher than the common range of the surface of the earth surrounding it.

Without any other steps being taken than washing the Coins from the dirt, they are as bright as the current Coin in common circulation. On one or two only is there the smallest appearance of tarnish or rust. Many of the later Emperors appear new or nearly so; but the greater part are more or less worn, and have evidently been in circulation for some time.

Signed,

William Mounsey.

Amongst the Belvoir Castle manuscripts is a letter to the Duke of Rutland from the same reverend gentleman, which, although it adds little to the story of the discovery, deserves to be printed on account of

the theories and "common hypothesis", which are quoted in connexion with its interpretation:—

Sproxton Dec^r 17. 1811.

My Lord,

Mr Turnor of Stoke has been so obliging as to lay before the Society of Antiquaries such a general account of the Roman Coins found at Sproxton, with the situation, circumstances, &c. as I was able to give. From Mr Secretary Carlisle's answer to his Letter it does not appear that they are scarce; yet Dr Calder, one of the Members, who has long attended to numismatic studies, takes the Subject up on other Grounds: an abstract of his Letter to Mr Nichols, I will beg leave to lay before Your Grace.

"Let me request that you will endeavour to learn from your Friend in Leicestershire an accurate list of all the Roman Emperors fairly legible on the late discovered 100 Coins. If happily the aggregate Sum of the amount of the Years of their reigns in successive chronological order, does not very much surpass the usual date of human life, the common hypothesis that they were deposited with the interred Person to indicate the real, or conjectured age, will be hereby confirmed. From what I have mentioned now or formerly on this Subject you will readily perceive, that there never could or can occur a fairer opportunity than the discovery of the 100 Coins for trying effectually the validity of this commonly admitted hypothesis. If it fails here, farewell to it. If it here should appear, that the reigns of the various Emperors whose names are clearly legible on one or other of these 100 Coins, does not admit of a proper reduction to a chronological successive order, or that there be an omission of the name or names of any one or more of the well known lawful Emperor or Emperors who reigned in the course of the period in question, successively, or if the years designated by the aggregate sum of all their Reigns should far exceed the ordinary extent, or any credible bounds of a human life, then I must acknowledge that your friend's ingenious suggestion appears preferable to the common hypothesis, on which at best the age of the buried person can seldom if ever be ascertained with precision & accuracy; whereas on your Friend's hypothesis, new as it is to me, & perhaps to most students of ancient coins, if no light can be got relative to the age of the person buried where the Coins are deposited with

his remains most probably if their number be 100 neither more, nor less, it may reasonably enough be supposed, that his Rank and Dignity was thus meant to be designated as a Centurion.

Having thus stated the numismatic problem, I beg you would try if by any means of your Friend you can get at the solution of it; & if yet the 100 Coins being now out of his hands, & in the possession of the Lord of the Manor, if his Lordship be, as his claim of these Coins leads us to believe, curious to make the most of them, he will readily if desired carefully examine, or get them carefully examined, purely on purpose to determine this dubious Point."

I will therefore beg the Favour of Your Grace to have them particularly examined in order to clear up this doubtful Point; or rather, could I have my wish, to give orders for them to be sent to Mr Nichols, Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, London for the inspection of Dr Calder, Liffin Green, Paddington, which will be still more satisfactory, as an indifferent Person might not attend to what he particularly wants; the omission of which might affect his hypothesis. Mr Nichols & Dr Calder have promised carefully to return them.

I am, My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient
humble Servant,
W^m Mounsey.

Unfortunately for these delightful theories it is by no means certain that the coins should be associated with the human bones. Such an occurrence of a Theodosian hoard is unparalleled and, since a tumulus is mentioned, it is far more likely that the hoard was concealed in the side of an already existing burial mound, to which the bones belong.

It is not known whether the Duke allowed the hoard to go to Dr. Calder, but it is unlikely that Nichols ever saw it, if one can judge from his brief reference and inaccurate drawing of the pot (see p. 66).

In 1889, however, Mr. Talbot Ready read a paper to

this Society on the hoard (now numbering 99) and Sir John Evans in his Presidential Address of that year refers to it as of "a period frequently represented by discoveries in Britain".³ From the peculiar placing of Arcadius chronologically after Honorius it is clear that Ready was responsible for the neat and careful arrangement of the coins in the cabinet at Belvoir. This must have been done in preparation for his paper⁴; the hoard is there labelled "99 pieces".

THE SITE.

With the aid of the description of the find, already quoted, and a Belvoir manuscript plan of the area in the hand of William Mounsey, of which he remarks, "as there has been no measurement, accuracy cannot be expected", it is possible to fix the find-spot of the hoard with tolerable accuracy at Long. $0^{\circ} 43' 52''$, Lat. $52^{\circ} 49' 9''$. The coins were found at the west side of the road from Saltby to Sproxton, five yards from the hedge and 570 yards north of Sproxton Church, half-way up a slight natural rise in the ground. On the other side of the hedge was "the appearance of an old Stone-pit", which had recently been partially filled in by the freeholder, Amos Ewen, with earth taken from what Mounsey considered to be a tumulus, situated a few yards farther north at the top of the rise. As mentioned above, the bones found at the same time may more probably be connected with this tumulus or adjacent burials than with the coins. Mounsey notes that "there has been no alteration of

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1889, *Proc.*, 16, 30.

⁴ Apparently it was not published.

the Earth in the memory of man where the Coins were found, and less inequality of the ground on that side of the Fence”.

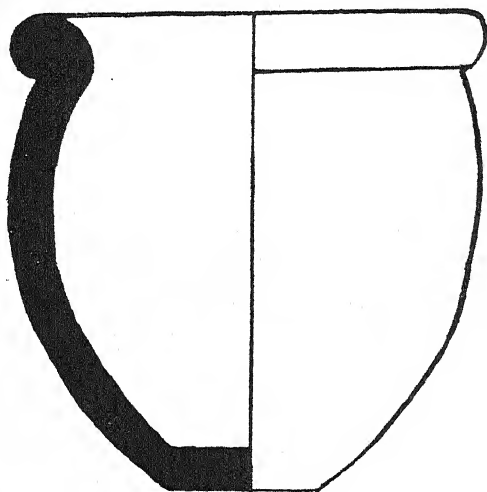


FIG. 1. The Pottery Vessel ($\frac{1}{2}$).

[NOTE.—This drawing is traced from the original at Belvoir Castle, which is somewhat irregular, with only those lines added which are necessary to show the elevation. The two outlines, therefore, do not agree, and it is impossible to say which is more accurate.]

THE POTTERY VESSEL.

This is now lost, but a sectional drawing, probably contemporary with the find, is preserved amongst the Belvoir Castle manuscripts. This is labelled “Pot in which the Coins were Discovered at Sproxton”, and, perhaps in a later hand, “ $2\frac{1}{2}$ High and wide”. The interior surface of the pot is coloured buff and the section dark grey.

A comparison with Nichols's Pl. XLVI. 16 shows

that the latter represents the pot at half-size, but adds a foot-ring and cordon at the neck, which are inaccurate. He probably had not seen the pot and relied upon a description. The dimensions, however, do not agree exactly with those of the Belvoir drawing, although they tally with those of the *Min. Soc. Ant.* It is nevertheless probable that the drawing, as reproduced here, is substantially accurate, although the pot may have been somewhat more bulging and squat. For the ware the description of *Min. Soc. Ant.* may be taken as correct,⁵ since the colouring of the Belvoir drawing is likely to be conventional.

There appears to be no real parallel for the shape of the vessel, although it may be a later version of the small unguent pots, such as Richborough no. 323.⁶ The same general heaviness is to be seen in late Roman or sub-Roman pottery from Holland,⁷ and it is clear that the present example may be dated with the coins to the early fifth century A.D.

THE COINS.

There are 95 coins now in the cabinet at Belvoir Castle, but a label there plainly states that the hoard was of 99 pieces. The four which have been mislaid can be identified by means of existing labels, for which there are now no coins, as Constantius II, as 1-10 **LVC** ;

⁵ Coarse dirty brown and white ; outside burnt, see p. 62.

⁶ *Rep. Res. Ctee. Soc. Ant. Lond.* x (1932) Pl. XL. Cf. also many earlier vessels in the Guildhall Museum, London, seen by courtesy of Mr. Quintin Waddington.

⁷ *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, N. S. ix², Afb. 17, 148. The writer is indebted to Mr. G. C. Dunning for this reference.

Julian, one as 13-15 SCON or TCON, and also one as 17-18; Valens as 33 TES.

All the coins are siliquae and most of the earlier issues have seen considerable use and are rather worn. A few even of the later emperors are worn, such as two of Magnus Maximus and one of Theodosius I, but no coin of Honorius shows the slightest trace of wear. One of his coins is plated, as is noted amongst the weights.

Clipped coins are rare in the hoard. There are no instances of the badly mutilated coins such as occur in the Coleraine hoard, and in only one case (Eugenius) has the clipping caused a doubt regarding the mint-mark.

The coins are as follows:—

[NOTE.—All have the normal obverse type, viz. bust diademed (double row of pearls), draped, and cuirassed right. The weight, in grains, of each coin is given at the end of each reverse type. The weights follow precisely the order of the mint-marks, a comma being placed between every coin, a semicolon at the conclusion of a mint-mark. cl. after a weight, sometimes with qualifying adverb = clipped.]

Constantius II.

1-10. *Obv.* D N CONSTAN | TIVS P F AVG

Rev. VOTIS XXX MVLTVS XXXX in wreath.

Mint. PCON (6), TCON (Arles); LVG (2) (Lyons);
SIRM (Sirmium). (30, 31.3, 34.8, 26.3, 26.5,
38.5; 24.2; 30.3, 27.6; 34.1.)

Julian.

11. *Obv.* FL CL IVLIA | NVS P P AVG

Rev. VICTORIA | DD NN AVG Victory l.

Mint. LVG (Lyons). (28.6.)

12. *Obv.* As 11 (normal).

Rev. VICTONI | A DP NN A Semi-barbarous figure.

Mint. LVG (Lyons)—normal. (23.7.)

13-15. *Obv.* D N IVLIAN | VS P F AVG

Rev. VOTIS V MVLTTIS X in wreath.

Mint. SCON, TCON (2) (Arles). (28.1; 34.6, 21.7.)

16. *Obv.* FL CL IVLIA | NVS P P AVG

Rev. As 13-15.

Mint. SLVG (Lyons). (27.5.)

17-18. *Obv.* D N CL IVLI | ANVS AVG

Rev. As 13-15.

Mint. TR (2) (Trier). (31.7, 31.3.)

19-24. *Obv.* D N FL CL IVLI | ANVS P F AVG

Rev. VOT X MVLTT XX in wreath.

Mint. PCONST, SCONST (2), TCONST (2)
(Arles)—all bearded head; SLVG (Lyons)
clean-shaven. (31.0; 27.1, 28.1; 29.5, 32.1;
34.8.)

25. *Obv.* As 16.

Rev. As 19-24.

Mint. PLVG (Lyons). (24.2)

[The reverse types VIRTVS ROMANORVM and VRBS ROMA are numbered as follows:—

- I. Rome seated on throne or chair, holding Victory on globe and sceptre (less commonly spear). Virtus type has spear instead of sceptre and no Victory.
- II. Rome seated on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and reversed spear, rarely a sceptre.]

Valentinian I.

Obv. (In all cases) D N VALENTINI | ANVS P F AVG

26-8. *Rev.* RESTITV | TOR REIP Emperor standing front, facing r., holding labarum and Victory on globe.

Mint. ANT (Antioch); $\frac{\text{OF} | \text{III}^*}{\text{CONST}}$ (Arles); TES (Thessalonica). (30.0; 28.9; 32.7.)

29-32. *Rev.* VRBS ROMA Type I.

Mint. RP (Rome); TRPS• (3) (Trier)—one double-struck. (23.4 slightly cl.; 29.6, 32.6, 27.8.)

Valens.

Obv. (In all cases) D N VALEN | S P F AVG

33. *Rev.* RESTITV | TOR REIP As 26-8.

Mint. $\frac{\text{OF} | \text{I}}{\text{CONST}}$ (Arles). Double-struck. (29.2.)

34-44. *Rev.* VRBS ROMA Type I.

Mint. RQ (2) (Rome); TRPS, TRPS• (7) (Trier); with reversed spear, not sceptre, TRPS• (Trier). (29.4, 28.9; 26.5; 33.3, 29.2, 25.5, 30.3, 32.2, 38.0, 28.5; 30.7.)

45. *Rev.* VRBS ROMA Type II.

Mint. TRPS• (Trier). (30.4.)

Gratian.

Obv. (In all cases) D N GRATIA | NVS P F AVG

46-8. *Rev.* VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type I.

Mint. TRPS (3) (Trier). (30.0, 30.7, 26.8.)

49-55. *Rev.* VRBS ROMA Type I.

Mint. $\overline{R^*P}$, $\overline{R^*Q}$ (Rome) reversed spear, not sceptre;
 $\overline{TRPS^*}$ (4) one with *A/* of obverse ligated,
 \overline{TRPS} *A/* of obverse ligated (Trier). (36.2;
 32.1; 35.0, 23.1 slightly cl., 28.3 slightly cl.,
 33.5; 24.5.)

56-9. *Rev.* VRBS ROMA Type II.

Mint. $\overline{TRPS^*}$ (3) one with *A/* of obverse ligated,
 \overline{TRPS} (Trier). (35.5, 33.3, 32.0; 29.9.)

Magnus Maximus.

60-5. *Obr.* D N MAG MAX | IMVS P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type I.

Mint. \overline{TRPS} (6) (Trier). (34.0, 30.7, 31.6, 30.8,
 25.4, 22.8 slightly cl.)

Flavius Victor.

66. *Obr.* D N FL VIC | TOR P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type I.

Mint. \overline{TRP} (Trier). Double-struck. (28.3.)

Eugenius.

67. *Obr.* D N EVGENI | VS P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type II.

Mint. \overline{TRP} (Trier). (23.8 cl.)

Valentinian II.

68-72. *Obr.* D N VALENTINIANVS IVN P F AVG

Rev. VICTOR | IA AVGGG Victory I. with
 wreath and palm.

Mint. \overline{AQPS} (Aquileia); \overline{TRPS} (4—all with IVNP
 ligated) (Trier). (28.0; 29.5, 31.0, 27.8, 27.0.)

73. *Obv.* D N VALENTINI | ANVS P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type I.

Mint. AQPS (Aquileia). (21.5.)

74. *Obv.* As 71.

Rev. VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type II.

Mint. TRPS (Trier). (30.3.)

75-6. *Obv.* D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG

Rev. VOT V MVLX in wreath.

Mint. $\overline{\text{SISCPS}}$ (2) (Siscia). (27.8, 26.9.)

Theodosius I.

Obv. (In all cases) D N THEODO | SIVS P F AVG

77. *Rev.* VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type I.

Mint. AQPS (Aquileia). (29.7)

78-9. *Rev.* VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type II.

Mint. TRPS (2) (Trier). (31.2, 24.0 cl.)

80. *Rev.* VOT X MVLX XX in wreath.

Mint. MDPS (Milan). (33.8.)

Arcadius.

Obv. (In all cases) D N ARCADI | VS P F AVG

81-5. *Rev.* VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type II.

Mint. MDPS (Milan); TRPS (4) (Trier). (21.3; 22.3, 26.7, 21.8 cl., 25.8 cl.)

86. *Rev.* VRBS ROMA Type II.

Mint. LVGPS (Lyons). (35.7.)

Honorius.

87-95. *Obv.* D N HONORI | VS P F AVG*Rcv.* VIRTVS RO | MANORVM Type II.*Mint.* MDPS (9) (Milan). (22.4, 17.8, 21.8, 19.1, 18.3, 21.4, 20.9, 16.2 (plated), 16.7 cl.)

Mr. J. W. E. Pearce has recently discussed the probable dates of minting of the last coins in the latest Roman silver hoards found in this country.⁸ From the time of the North Mendip hoard (early in A.D. 395) onwards the argument must rest, in the present state of our knowledge, upon the later coins from the mint of Milan and the proportions thereof which can be assigned to the emperors, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius, with the occasional help of a coin of Constantine III (A.D. 408-11). By this means the Coleraine and Terling hoards, the latest so far examined, are both assigned to the period of the last-mentioned emperor, one of whose coins occurred at Coleraine. In these cases coins from Milan are very few for Theodosius, but common for Arcadius and Honorius, whilst the latter has nearly twice as many as his brother.

In the Sproxtan hoard the position is even more pronounced. There are no later Milan coins of Theodosius, no. 80 being a much earlier survival, only one of Arcadius, but nine of Honorius. It is questionable whether this may not be partly fortuitous and due to the comparatively small number of the coins, but it would seem at least to suggest that the hoard may be dated with the Coleraine and Terling examples to the period of Constantine III.

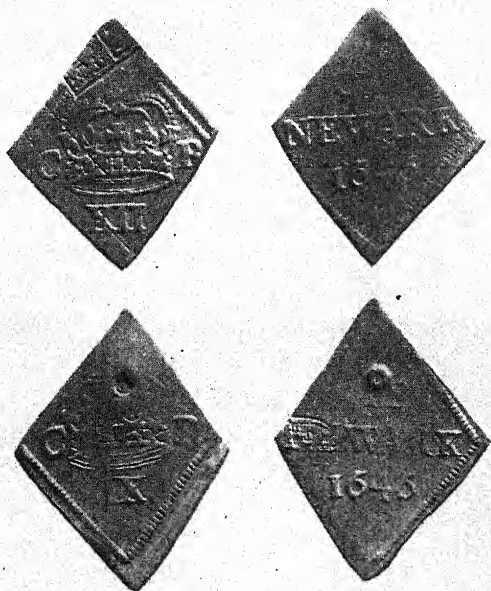
B. H. S. J. O'NEIL.

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1933, pp. 170 ff.

VII.

A NOTE ON THE COINING OF THE ROYAL PLATE AT NEWARK IN THE YEAR 1646.

SINCE the days of Ruding it has been known that certain of the shillings and ninepences struck out of broken-up plate during the siege of Newark bear, in



addition to the ordinary obverse and reverse dies, the impression of a third which shows the royal arms as used by the Stuarts. The shield on which the royal arms is blazoned is of exactly the same size and pattern as is used on the sixpence of James I.

Very few indeed of these coins are known. Although the die with the royal arms always appears on the same side as the Newark reverse type, the results of this combination are very different in appearance. Occasionally very nearly the whole of the royal arms appears, but more usually three-quarters of it is off the flan.

Ruding described these coins as "countermarked with the royal arms". When one side of a coin is found impressed with two different dies, it is not usually difficult to decide which of them has been used latest. In this case, however, the extreme rarity and the state of preservation of the known specimens makes it virtually impossible to decide whether or not the die with the royal arms was applied subsequently to the striking of the coin.

If Ruding's suggestion that the die with the royal arms is here used as a countermark cannot be disproved, common sense would seem to urge its rejection. It is incredible that at any date subsequent to the striking of this emergency issue any one should have thought it necessary to order the countermarking of a small proportion of the coins of two of its denominations. It is equally unbelievable that any official countermarking could have been carried out so carelessly.

The alternative explanation to that of Ruding was first put forward by Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A. The presence of makers' marks and hall-marks on other Newark shillings and ninepences shows that the flans for these two denominations were cut directly out of pieces of plate of the correct thickness. It was only necessary to resort to melting in order to obtain thicker flans for the half-crowns and thinner ones for the

sixpences, though some, at least, of the latter seem also to have been cut directly out of plate. Dr. Nelson therefore supposes that the shields bearing the royal arms formed part of the original decoration of the pieces which were broken up and suggests that they must have "formed part of some Regal service of plate which was sacrificed in order to pay the expences of the siege".¹ Unfortunately he did not carry the argument one stage farther by showing that royal plate was ever marked with a stamp—none of the few surviving pieces of royal silver is so marked—and for this reason his solution has not hitherto been universally accepted. By providing evidence that royal plate was in fact once marked with a stamp bearing the royal arms, Dr. Nelson's case will be very materially reinforced. To find proofs of this practice it is only necessary to inspect the early royal plate books which have come down to us. It is most unfortunate that none of these belong to the reigns of the first two Stuart kings, but there are five of Tudor date—1520, 1532, 1550, 1574, and 1596—and these provide ample justification for Dr. Nelson on this point.

The heraldic adornment of plate was during the Middle Ages usually carried out in champlevé or translucent enamel and can be traced back in this country to the close of the thirteenth century. The use of enamelled heraldic medallions continued into the Renaissance but was superseded to a certain extent by the use of engraved coats of arms.

The earliest references to stamped coats of arms appear in the 1520 inventory of the plate of Henry VIII.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, ii, 1906, p. 316.

A perusal of this and of the other inventories shows that when the royal arms adorned an important piece of plate, they were invariably enamelled or engraved. Recourse was only had to stamping in the case of objects of minor importance and those unsuitable for elaborate decoration. The following examples are typical of what can be found in the various inventories:—

1520²

p. 187

Item A white bolle w^t the kinge Armys streken in the bothom.

Item A Bason parte gilte with the Kingis Armys striken in the Bothom.

Ao xiii ult^o Item ii Dosen of trenchers gilt streken with the Die Dec. kingis armys pcell of the plate that was late the Ducke of buckinghams the Kingis Rebell.

1532³

f. 25a

Itm two playne Cuppis of Assaye gilte w^t the kinge Armys striken in the botome.

f. 44a

Itm an Ewer helmett fasshion gilte w^t the kynge Armys striken one the cover.

1574⁴

f. 64a

Item two paire of plaine guilte pottes thone paire with Rooses in the busselles thother paire with plates streken w^t the Queens Armes.

² Printed in *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies of the dioceses of Lincoln, York, &c.*, 1883, pp. 156-229. The original at Welbeck Abbey has been mislaid.

³ P.R.O. Exchequer Miscellaneous Books of the Treasury of Receipt, 85.

⁴ B.M. Stowe MS. 555.

f. 118b

Item xxix trencher plates of silver guilt xxiiii of them streken w^t the lre h and v w^t the Queenis armes in a Garter.

f. 147b

Item six depe demy platters guilt stamped w^t her mat^{ies} Armes.

Item six depe dishes guilte likewise stamped w^t tharmes.

However irregular the spelling of the above quotations may be, their sense is not open to question. The word stricken, it may be remarked, is used also in the three last inventories in reference to hall- and makers' marks, so that there can be no doubt that it is in every way equivalent to stamped. The other items which are described as being stricken with the royal arms are ewers and spice-plates.

That some of the royal plate should have found its way to Newark need cause no surprise. Charles spent from 4th October to 3rd November, 1645, in and about the town, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of his plate accompanied him. It is probable that he was obliged to leave his heavy baggage behind on his departure. Riding out of Newark at about 11 p.m. on 3rd November he was able, by means of forced marches, to reach Oxford by about 5 p.m. on 5th November.

The great rarity of the coins showing traces of the die with the royal arms is very easily explained. The greater part of the royal plate remained at the Jewel House in the Tower until it was seized and melted by order of the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1649. Only a small proportion can have accompanied Charles when he left London before the outbreak of war, and the service of silver which he carried about with him in the later stages of the struggle is likely to have been

a modest one. A relatively small proportion of the royal plate was stamped and certainly not more than four of the flans cut from any stamped piece could show traces of the royal arms. The excellence of the die and its resemblance to the one used for the sixpence of James I may be reasonably accounted for by supposing that it was in fact made at the Mint. We may perhaps go a little farther and suppose that this resemblance to the coins of James I may mean that the die was made to mark plate for the first rather than for the second Stuart monarch. Charles I, though a much more enlightened art-lover than his father, had little enough money to spend on the acquisition of plate for his own use. In the very first year of his reign, before the financial struggle had become embittered, forty of the finest pieces of the royal plate had to be sent to Holland to be sold. In the following year 40,000 oz. of the royal plate was sold in this country. Though in later years he undoubtedly did commission a certain amount of plate, his goldsmiths do not seem to have found his patronage extremely lucrative. Bills for plate commissioned as much as five years before the Civil War were still being presented for settlement some years after the Restoration.

If these Newark pieces are indeed struck out of the royal dinner service, is it possible to name the type of object from which the flans were cut? In the case of the example illustrated by Dr. Nelson and the one in the possession of Dr. Lawrence, I think that it is. In both examples may be observed, above the top of the shield, a number of lines which on close inspection appear to be segments of large concentric circles. It is obvious that in both cases the arms have been stamped

in such a way as to bear the same relative position to these circles. It seems, therefore, safe to infer that both coins have been cut out of the same species of silver vessel. If next we attempt to visualize all different types of object which might be decorated and marked in this way, we find that the list is a very short one. I have little doubt that the flans for both coins were cut from the rims of large dishes.

C. C. OMAN.

VIII.

THE RETARIFFING OF THE DENARIUS AT SIXTEEN ASSES

THE retariffing of the denarius at 16 instead of 10 asses is clearly a development in the monetary system of the Roman Republic of no small importance, since, once established, it remained in force far into imperial times. Yet, notwithstanding its importance and the effect that it undoubtedly had on current prices, we have no trustworthy information from any ancient authority regarding either the reason or date of the readjustment.

Several writers certainly mention it,¹ of whom Pliny is probably the most frequently quoted² and for that reason demands a passing notice, although in the light of recent research on the origin of the denarius³ our only comment on Pliny's statement must be to turn it down as utterly misleading, based, as it evidently is, on faulty information.

Pliny's statement is to the effect that during the Second Punic war (217 B.C.), in consequence of the crippled state of Roman finance, the as was reduced

¹ Maecianus, ii, p. 67 *Met. Script.* in Hultsch. "Denarius primo asses decem valebat, unde et nomen traxit; quinarius, dimidium eius, id est quinque asses: unde et ipse vocatur; ... nunc denarius sedecim, victoriatu et quinarius octo, sestertius, quatuor asses valet."

² *N. H.*, xxxiii. 13.

³ *The Date of the Roman Denarius and Other Landmarks in Early Roman Coinage*, H. Mattingly and E. S. G. Robinson. Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. xviii, 1933.

from two ounces to an ounce, and at the same time it was retariffed at the rate of 16 to a denarius. Thereby, he adds, the State made a gain of a half. But in the matter of military payments the denarius continued to be reckoned at 10 asses.

Mommsen⁴ accepts Pliny's date and further connects this retariffing with the reduction in the weight of the denarius from 4 to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ scruples (i.e. $1/72$ to $1/84$ of a pound).

Here, then, we find several points that at the outset require restatement:—

(1) Since it has been shown, as I believe, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the denarius was not introduced till c. 187 B.C., and along with it the "sextantal" bronze system, the denarius being worth 10 asses, the subsequent retariffing of the denarius as 16 asses cannot reasonably be dated earlier than the middle of the second century B.C.

(2) The crisis of the Punic war having been ruled out, there appears no need to look for the reason of the retariffing in any financial embarrassment of the Roman government. Indeed, more probably it may be regarded as a natural readjustment of values which were already getting unbalanced owing to the dwindling of the bronze coinage. Moreover, it is very much open to question whether the State made anything like a gain of 50 per cent. by the readjustment.

(3) Although both the denarius and the as underwent a reduction of weight during the second century B.C., in each case the process went on independently.

⁴ *Hist. mon. rom.*, ii, p. 77. Cf. also Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, p. xli.

The denarius, at the time that it was first issued, appears normally to have weighed 4 scruples (=70.5 grs.) but almost immediately it fell to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ scruples (=61.25 grs.), at which weight it remained more or less steady down to the time of Nero's reform. The as, on the other hand, declined far more gradually. There is no discernible line of demarcation between the "sextantal" and "uncial" as. The one simply merges into the other. But by the middle of the second century its weight was approximately an ounce. It is impossible, therefore, to trace any close inter-relation between the reduction of the silver and bronze denominations, such as Mommsen suggests.

(4) Pliny's remark about military payments is a little difficult to follow and, so far as I can discover, is not corroborated by other Roman writers. Even if we accept the statement that when the denarius was retariffed at 16 asses an exception was made in the case of military payments, it affords no intelligible reason for retaining the mark X on the denarius long after its current value in all business transactions had ceased to be 10 asses.

Somewhere between 140 and 130 B.C. the "uncial" as suddenly disappears from the currency, and for the next thirty years, or more, the bronze coinage consisted only of smaller denominations.⁵

Mr. Grueber (*Coins of Rom. Rep.*, p. xxx) suggests as the reason for discontinuing the as that for some time prior to its withdrawal there had been an over-issue of bronze money. This may have been the case,

⁵ A short-lived revival of the "uncial" as occurred about 100 B.C., but in 89 B.C. the as was further reduced to the half-ounce standard.

but even so it scarcely gives a complete explanation of why the as was withdrawn. The over-issue of any species of coin might cause a temporary suspension of its issue, but it would scarcely affect the output for so long a period as thirty years. Some further explanation is required, and the one which I venture to suggest is that since the "uncial" as had fallen somewhat below its nominal value of one-tenth of a denarius some readjustment became necessary. Here two possible alternatives were presented: either to issue a new kind of as at the face value of $1/16$ of a denarius, or to discontinue the issue of the as and retariff the coins already in circulation at the new rate.

As the former plan would have probably caused some confusion with the existing money the Roman government adopted the latter and certainly the easier course. Thus the withdrawal of the as is the prelude to the retariffing of the denarius at 16 instead of 10 asses.

About the time that the "uncial" as disappears, or very shortly afterwards, we find a group of denarii bearing the mark of value XVI instead of the traditional X.⁶ These coins were issued by six moneyers who evidently held office very near together, probably during two consecutive years. None of these moneyers struck asses, and only one of them, Aufidius Rusticus, issued any bronze coins at all, so far as is known.

The conclusion—and it must seem a very obvious

⁶ The old mark of value, X, disappears from denarii of the Roman mint at the time that the coins marked XVI were issued. Subsequently the value is expressed by * (=10 differentiated). This rule, however, was not followed consistently by non-Roman mints.

one—to which we are leading, is that these denarii marked XVI, thereby signifying their equivalence to 16 asses, were issued at precisely the time that the retariffing took place. The style of the denarii with XVI leaves no question that they belong to the period from 140 to 130 B.C. On this point our modern numismatists, e.g. Mommsen, Babelon, and Grueber, are mainly agreed. But so long as Pliny's date (217 B.C.) for the retariffing of the denarius was accepted, it was impossible to explain satisfactorily why the Romans, having tarified the denarius at 16 asses, allowed something like three-quarters of a century to elapse before they stated the fact on the coins. Obvious as is the conclusion at which we have arrived, it alone offers an explanation that is consistent with the facts of the coinage as shown by the light of recent investigations.

The withdrawal of the as, the retariffing of the denarius, and the issue of denarii marked XVI, are, as we have shown, inseparable factors of a currency reform which took place some time between 140 and 130 B.C. Is it possible to arrive at a more exact date and to discover the occasion of the reform?

When we consider the Republican coinage that can certainly be assigned to the period between the first issue of the denarius (c. 187 B.C.) and the six issues of denarii marked XVI, we cannot fail to be struck by its magnitude. It comprises (1) denarii and corresponding bronze without moneyer's names or mint-marks, (2) issues bearing symbols or initial letters, and (3) issues that can be assigned to particular moneyers whose names, sometimes abbreviated or in monogram, appear on the coins.

The length of time covered by the issues of groups 1

and 2 is necessarily difficult to estimate.* The coins themselves give us no evidence of date other than can be deduced from their style. Moreover, we cannot always be certain whether issues are simultaneous or in sequence. But as the number of variants is extremely large and the coins, or rather groups of coins, exhibit very marked differences of style it is safe to conclude that their issue occupied a fairly long period. Under Group 3 we find coins bearing the names or monograms⁷ of about sixty-five different moneyers, whose combined term of office, reckoned on the normal basis of three a year, would cover about twenty-two years. As a matter of fact the actual time is likely to be more rather than less.

In order to account for so prolific a coinage a period of over half a century is the least that can be reasonably allowed. We shall find, therefore, that the six issues of denarii marked XVI are likely to occur nearer 130 than 140 B.C.

When we investigate the conditions of the Roman Republic during the few years previous to 130 B.C. we discover nothing in the nature of a financial crisis, such as happened in the Second Punic war. We hear of wars, of course, such as the Slave war in Sicily and the war in Spain. But the Roman government, instead of being financially embarrassed, was not only perfectly solvent but was busy collecting a substantial windfall from the treasures of the Pergamene Attalus. However, in 133 B.C. an internal movement occurred that very probably throws light on the monetary reform under

⁷ Monograms are often uncertain and in some cases may denote mints, not moneyers. In the above computation only monograms that are pretty certainly those of moneyers are included.

consideration. This movement is connected with the name of Tiberius Gracchus. The details of his policy and his Land Bill do not concern our present inquiry. It is sufficient to point out that his sympathies were all on the side of the tenant farmer as opposed to the big landowner, and that his policy with regard to ordinary business, as well as farming, was to give the advantage to the small man.

There is one incident in the administration of Gracchus, mentioned by historians, that seems to have a direct bearing on the monetary reform, although its significance in this particular direction has possibly been overlooked. Plutarch states, "Gracchus put his own seal upon the doors of the Temple of Saturn that the quaestors might neither bring anything into the Treasury, nor take anything out".⁸

The motive usually imputed to Gracchus for this arbitrary interference with the government's monetary transactions is that he wished to terrorize the people into giving their votes for his Land Bill. If such were his object the practical wisdom of his procedure seems open to criticism. The suspension of all State business transactions involved a hold-up of trade generally, which was bound to be inconvenient and consequently unpopular. May not Gracchus have been actuated by another reason as well?

It is not difficult to see in this unusual action of Gracchus precisely what might be expected if a monetary reform, such as the retariffing of the denarius, were to be brought into operation. This alteration in current values naturally had some effect upon prices,

⁸ Plut., *Ti. Gracchus*, ch. X, Langhorne's transl.

so that a temporary suspension of ordinary business as well as of State transactions might be regarded as almost inevitable until the new scale of values had got into working order.

Although the retariffing of the denarius no doubt affected prices to some extent, more particularly of cheaper commodities, it is pretty certain, in the long run, to have proved advantageous to the poorer classes, whose business was mainly carried on with coppers. For, even if the purchasing power of the as was slightly less than it had been, the fact that for every denarius he could get 16 asses instead of 10 must have appealed to the working man who had little use for denarii but very much use for asses.

Although this suggestion is tentative, in putting it forward I would urge (1) that numismatic evidence all points to the year 133 B.C., or thereabouts, as the date at which the denarius was officially tarified at 16 asses; and (2) there is, perhaps, no single occasion that suggests itself as being so likely a one for a revaluation of the public money as when Tiberius Gracchus was forcing his policy of readjustment and reconstruction on the Roman people.

E. A. SYDENHAM.

WITH Mr. Sydenham's general argument I am in entire agreement. All I have to add are a few considerations, which seem to me to point to Gaius Gracchus and a date 123-122 B.C., rather than to Tiberius Gracchus ten years earlier.

(1) Vitruvius (iii. 1. 8) says that the *denarius aeracius* was equal to 16 asses. *Aeracius* is a rare word, the

exact meaning of which is not easily fixed, but, on all analogies, it should mean "coppery" "debased". Now Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. S. 46) tells us that Livius Drusus "in tribunatu plebei octavam partem aeris argento miscuit". This passage has usually been applied to the younger Drusus of 91 B.C.: it is at least as likely that the elder Drusus of 122 B.C. is intended. The passage of Vitruvius strongly encourages us to date the debasement⁹ of the silver and the retariffing of the denarius at 16 asses in the earlier year.

(2) Statius (*Silvae* iv. 9) remonstrates with his patron, Gryphus, a distinguished barrister, for sending him as Christmas present book for book. Statius had sent a beautiful new volume of his poems, which "cost me a *decussis*, not counting my own labours", "*praeter me mihi constitit decussi*". Gryphus did not even send him a volume of his own speeches, but an old worm-eaten copy of the "yawning periods of old Brutus, bought for an as of Gaius, more or less",—"sed Bruti senis oscitationes Emptum plus minus asse Caiano". So far, three serious difficulties in the poem have received no tolerable explanation. No one has explained what a "*decussis*" in the reign of Domitian may mean. "Old Brutus" has been mistranslated "Brutus of old time" and identified for no special reason with the tyrannicide. The as of Gaius has been assigned to the Emperor, Gaius (Caligula). This would be excellent, if only we had any knowledge of an as of Caligula inferior to or in any way unlike the asses of other Emperors. But we have not. A single

⁹ It is fairly certain that debasement took the form of the issue of a proportion of plated pieces among pieces of pure silver.

explanation will relieve all three difficulties. Brutus is the writer on Civil Law, who lived in the third and second quarters of the second century B.C. and may well have lived on into old age through the times of the Gracchi: we have no certain record of his end. Even legal students will agree that the "yawnings" ("oscitationes") are now intelligible enough. The "decussis" will be the old denarius of 10 asses, the "as Gaianus" will be the inferior as, of sixteen to the denarius. The change of tariff will have fallen during the life-time of Brutus and will have been commented on by him in his Civil Law. The Gaius, after whom the as is named, will now be the famous Gaius Gracchus, tribune in 123 and 122 B.C. Statius, while mocking at the present of the Law-book, very wittily shows that he has borrowed from its jargon.

We have here either a very odd coincidence indeed or something very much like absolute proof.

(3) We can now add that a change of tariff of the denarius, though not unthinkable under Tiberius Gracchus, is more readily associated with the immense activities of his brother, which included roads, colonies, and corn doles as well as assignments of land. The rather curious price per modius of the corn dole ($6\frac{1}{2}$ asses) might be taken to express 4 asses of the old reckoning ($4 \times \frac{16}{10} = \frac{64}{5} = 6\frac{2}{5}$).

The implications of our results, if correct, will need to be worked out carefully in detail. One observation only suggests itself at once. It is hard not to associate with the change of tariff from 16 to 10 asses per denarius the reduction of the as as evidenced in the overstrikes of dupondii on sextantal asses, recently discussed by our

Fellow, Mr. H. P. Hall.¹⁰ The denarius, which had been worth 10 sextantal asses, would, then, be worth 20 of the overstruck issue. Debasement of the denarius by an eighth would reduce the tariff to seventeen and a half, and we can perhaps find a special reason why a slightly lower figure, sixteen, was chosen. The Rhegine talent was a victoriate and might, on analogy, contain twelve *nummi*; of such *nummi* the denarius (four-thirds of the victoriate) would contain sixteen. If, as is inherently probable, the Rhegine talent was important in South Italy, the equation of the as with its *nummus* might be intimately related to the great schemes of colonization in Magna Graecia that were pressed by Gracchus and Drusus.

HAROLD MATTINGLY.

¹⁰ *Num. Chron.*, 1933, pp. 143 ff.

IX.

A HOARD OF RADIATE MINIMI FROM THE WEST OF ENGLAND

A HOARD of 323¹ coins, which was acquired some years ago by Sir Arthur Evans at Bristol, and was in all probability found in that district, has recently been deposited in the Ashmolean Museum. With the exception of six official third-century issues, this hoard consists entirely of radiate *minimi*; with it are two pieces of metal, one a rough lump and the other a thin fragment of broken sheet-metal. In the following list the *minimi* are classified by their reverse types, as accurately as the degraded standard of art and the imperfections of execution allow; this is not to say that the *obv.* heads are not sometimes well copied from the original third-century prototypes, but on the whole the reverses form a much surer basis of classification than the obverses.²

OFFICIAL THIRD-CENTURY ISSUES (6).

1. Victorinus. (*Rev.* [INVICTVS] or [ORIENS AVG]; cf. M. & S. 112 and 115.) Cut down to 10 mm., only the legs being visible on the *rev.*, though the radiate head is nearly all on the *obv.*
2. „ (*Rev.* [VI] R [TVS AVG]: cf. M. & S. 78.) Very fragmentary, and perhaps intentionally halved.

¹ Since Dr. Milne's brief reference to this hoard in *J.R.S.* xxi (1931), p. 104, a further 54 coins have brought the total to this figure.

² References are to Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, quoted as M. & S.

3. Victorinus. (*Rev.* PAX AVG: cf. M. & S. 56, but with *obv.* 5 (?) F.) A whole coin, fairly worn.
4. Tetricus II. (*Rev.* PIETAS AVGVSTOR: M. & S. 259, with aspergillum, simpulum, ewer l., knife and lituus in order from l. to r.) A whole coin, fairly fresh.
5. „ (*Rev.* SPES AVG [G]: cf. M. & S. 270-1.) Unevenly cut down to 13.5 mm., though it may be, just possibly, a good copy.
6. ? A third of a coin, much worn, probably of one of the Gallic emperors. (*Rev.* [PR] OVIDE [NTIA AVG].)

DEBASED RADIATE COPIES (317).

- i. *Types derived from the period of the Gallic Empire (192)*
 - Fides Militum (1)
 - Fortuna Redux (2)
 - Hilaritas (5)
 - Invictus, or Oriens Aug. (6)
 - Pax:—Type A, with Pax holding cornucopiae and branch (18)
 - Type B, with Pax holding spear and branch (51)
 - Pietas (sacrificial implements) (95)
 - Salus (7)
 - Spes (7)
- ii. *Types derived from coins commemorating Claudius II (18)*
 - (Consecratio) Eagle (5)
 - „ Altar (13)
- iii. *Miscellaneous (107)*
 - Types not easily referable to Roman prototypes (25)
 - Two radiate *obverses* (1)
 - Uncertain types (55)
 - Illegible coins (26)

There should also be added one fragment of a coin and the two pieces of scrap metal.

Though hoards of this nature cannot be called common, there are a few available for comparison. Dr. Milne recently described a late radiate hoard from

Coventina's Well³: others that may be mentioned are the Mere hoard, at Salisbury,⁴ and the little group of radiate *minimi* in Bury St. Edmunds Museum, which probably comes from East Anglia,⁵ and almost certainly constitutes part of a hoard. All these hoards have one particular feature in common, namely the small module of the coins of which they are composed. Those from Coventina's Well have an average diameter of about 13-14 mm., though there are examples of as little as 11 mm. The Bristol coins are smaller, averaging about 9-10 mm., and falling as low as 6.5 mm.; they are comparable to the Mere and Bury coins, which in some cases are no more than 5.5 mm. and 7 mm. respectively in diameter. The three southern groups are in one respect opposed to the northern group, in that they offer clearer and more skilfully executed types notwithstanding the fact that their flans are considerably smaller. This can perhaps be explained by saying that the official third-century coins which served as a model for all groups alike were in a generally worse condition in the extreme north, where possibly their circulation outlasted those current in the more southern districts, into which the Constantinian coinage would flow more readily and naturally. It should not, however, be inferred from this that the southern coins present in all cases clearly designed and well-executed types: there are very numerous examples of obscure designs, poorly struck with a meaningless jumble of dots and dashes. But, on the

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1933, pp. 82-4.

⁴ Blackmore Museum.

⁵ These coins formerly belonged to Dr. Sturge, of Icklingham in Suffolk.

whole, the Coventina hoard shows fewer examples of well-struck intelligible types than the other hoards.

The Bristol hoard shows none of that uniformity of fabric which characterizes, for example, Groups D, E, and F of the Lydney hoard.⁶ As has been noted,⁷ the flans present a most irregular appearance. In some cases they have been formed by clipping pieces out of thin sheet-metal: there are some forty or fifty examples of this technique. Other flans have been cast in a chain of moulds, which have left projections at either side like those noticeable on the early Roman bronze. There are several examples of quartered coins of ordinary third-century module: the quarters have been left untrimmed, and the irregular segment has been impressed with as much of the new die as possible. Many flans have obviously suffered a gradual disintegration through successive stages of re-striking, and it is in this connexion that we come to consider the most remarkable feature of the hoard, namely a group of fourteen coins (*Rev.*, Pax, Type A) from related dies (12 *aa*, 2 *ba*). The flans, which are thin and irregular, have brittle and sometimes split edges, and look as if they have experienced considerable re-striking. But if the moneyer responsible for these coins used old flans, he went to some trouble to secure a fair uniformity of weight, since the coins weigh respectively 0.41, 0.35, 0.30, 0.28, 0.27, 0.25, 0.22 (3 coins), 0.20, 0.19, 0.15, 0.12 and (a broken coin) 0.06 gm., the average being 0.249 gm. Their diameter varies between 7.5 and 11 mm., and averages about 8.5 mm. All the coins

⁶ Cf. *Soc. Antiq. Report*, 1932, Plate XXXVI.

⁷ *J.R.S.*, loc. cit.

are fresh and unworn: the radiate heads of both dies are in a delicate low relief, and exhibit a fair degree of skill, and the details are unspoiled by wear. Owing to the flans being smaller than the *rev.* die, the latter is seldom more than half stamped on the coins: but it is in all cases sharp. There is no *obv.* legend: the *rev.* legend of the prototype survives in two letters **CV**. There are in this hoard four other coins of the same type, and one or more of these possibly provided a model for the producer of these fourteen coins.


This group of related coins—a phenomenon certainly of rare, and perhaps of unique occurrence among the late Romano-British hoards hitherto examined—postulates their production in or very near the district whence came the whole hoard. Possibly the hoard represents the contents of an official moneyer's workshop, since the condition of the coins is generally good, and the worn specimens were possibly due for re-striking. But it is equally possible that it may have been the property of a private individual who was capable of producing a die and of striking coins himself. In any case the pieces of metal found with the hoard suggest that they were intended for the supply of flans; the heavier piece, originally molten and run off into some receptacle, weighs 6.52 gm., and contains sufficient metal for twenty-six coins of the type found associated in the hoard, while the piece of sheet-metal, measuring 21 × 10.5 mm. and weighing 0.48 gm., might have been designed for the clipping out of flans; it is punched irregularly with some thirty indentations, perhaps as a means of rendering it otherwise useless. The study of late Romano-British coinage is not yet advanced enough for us to say within what limits


radiate *minimi* were manufactured or current. But this hoard does at least show, in conjunction with the Mere hoard, that the area of currency embraced the south-west of England.

So much for the fabric of the hoard. A study of the actual reverse-types yields some interesting results. The approximate classification given above^s shows that the types of the Gallic Empire are greatly predominant, apart from a small but definite number of types which are derived from the Commemorative Issues of Claudius Gothicus. Each class may be subdivided into two main sections, namely, (a) animate and (b) inanimate designs. It is noteworthy that the latter are distinctly more copied than the former: of the 210 legible coins, animate types number altogether 102 coins, comprising eight varieties, of which **PAX**, overwhelmingly common as an official prototype, supplies 69 examples, while the inanimate types constitute 108 coins, of two varieties only. The impression gained from a study of these coins is that the die-engravers found difficulty in rendering the subtle and patternless curves composing the draped human figure. Of "pure" composition, involving a not necessarily symmetrical balance of lines and masses, they appear to have had little sense. Conversely, in the case of types exhibiting a certain static symmetry and pattern, they were very successful—success in this connexion being equivalent to an ability to achieve gradual transmutation of a type without losing entirely the character of the original. This technique of symmetrical stylization is apparent even in the less successful human compositions;

^s pp. 92-3.

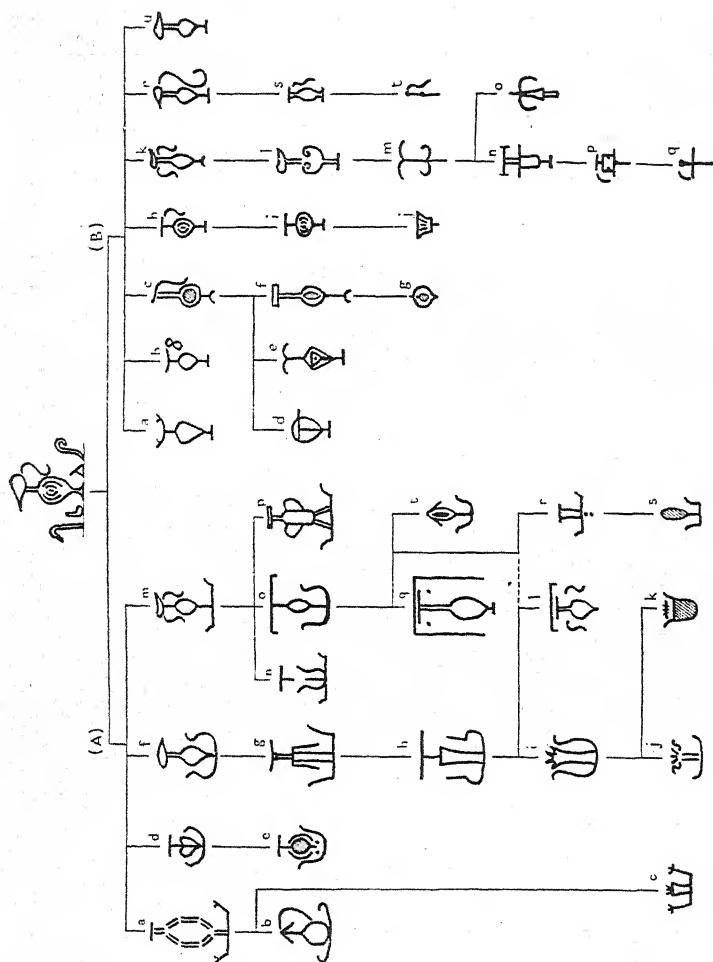
attitudes are reduced to patterns, clothes become an affair of certain standard curves, and occasionally the whole figure, with its attributes, turns into a purely linear design. On the whole the various human types are fairly easily separable. *Fides Militum*, for instance, is flanked on either side by two vertical dotted lines—the remnants of the knobbed shafts of her military standards. *Fortuna Redux* preserves her special attitude with her right arm resting high up on her rudder-handle, though in one case her cornucopiae tails down to the ground, like a curved staff. *Hilaritas* is distinguished by her palm, which sometimes changes hands and perhaps usurps the whole field in one or two cases: it is, like the Macedonian wreath, a plait-like device capable of much elaboration. The running Sun-god of the *Invictus* types is, on the whole, successful: he is unencumbered by clothing, and from his arms, his legs, and his whip quite a simple pattern can easily be stylized: in all cases but one his whip survives, and one coin shows him carrying a spear also, point downwards. Under the *Pax* type have been classified most of the standing figures holding spear and branch, or cornucopiae and branch, the former variety being the commoner. The branch sometimes drops out, but the spear almost always remains, if only as a short *baton*, sometimes with an encircling crescent, turned upwards, which is the last vestige of the arm. Frequently the figure is reversed, and the ultimate stage of degradation is represented by a facing linear figure, with a short vertical rod at the end of the right “arm” and with the left “arm” ending in several radiating lines—originally the branch, but now the fingers of the hand: the head also is radiate.

Salus is accompanied either by her serpent or her altar (sometimes high in the field) or both. *Spes* provides a good subject for stylization: the bent right arm, with the flower in the hand, continuing into the shoulder line, becomes a linear pattern resembling the design 

or . Finally Claudius' commemorative *Eagle* experiences a series of vicissitudes until it becomes, similarly, more angular and linear than the original design.

When the inanimate types are considered, it is evident that they are more readily and more frequently copied. Claudius' commemorative *Altar* provides a good series of degradations, of varying types and designs. Sometimes it is shown with its fire on the top; sometimes it is shown in double outline, and occasionally it shows a dot or an annulet in the middle of its square face reminiscent of the common sceatta of the so-called "standard" type. Ultimately the altar is broken up into a rough square crossed irregularly with vague intersections. But it is the *Pietas* type that displays the British technique of imitation in its most complete, elaborate, and continuous form. This type, of fairly common occurrence in the third-century coinage, is found both on the Mere and on the Bury *minimi*, and in the Bristol hoard there are ninety-five examples of it. Curiously enough, one of the six official coins in this hoard is of this very type,⁹ and conceivably served as a model for some of these numerous copies. On the accompanying chart (see p. 100) an attempt has been made to illustrate the gradual degradation of the type by means of over forty characteristic examples. The prototype shows

⁹ See above, p. 93, no. 4.



an ewer, turned left or right, standing among a group of sacrificial instruments, of which the *aspergillum* and the *lituus* flank the whole design. Imitations of the type fall into two main classes: (A) those which preserve the sacrificial instruments in some form or other, and (B) those which omit them entirely.


To deal first with class (A): These show a remarkable stylization of the originally non-symmetrical *aspergillum* and *lituus*, combined with the ground-base of the type, with or without the actual foot of the ewer. Types Af and Am show the type without a handle and also with two handles—the latter a pattern development of the prototype—and from each a clear series can be traced; in types Ag—Ai increasing emphasis is laid upon the “horns” derived from the *aspergillum* and *lituus*, while the handles, in conjunction with the ewer-mouth, produce such stages as An, Ao, and Ap—the latter a remarkable anthropomorphic transition. From Ao, in turn, are derived such devices as Ar—At. Type Al, though it lacks the characteristic “horns” at the base, seems to come from a combination of Ah and Ao; either the base has suddenly dropped out, leaving the top of the design perhaps as a derivative of the square mouth of type Bf, or conceivably the whole thing may be inverted, since it is a fact that many of these types, as for instance Ah and Ao, lose little by being turned upside down, the horizontal top and bottom strokes being interchangeable. Type Aa is a curious example of duplicated line in pattern, and Ab shows how unimportant the base of the vase ultimately appeared to be. Types Ac, Aj, and Ak well illustrate the lengths to which an imaginative copyist might go.

In class (B) Types Ba-Bc, Bk, Br, and Bu represent fairly easy transitions from the prototype, viewed as a vase without attributes. Type Bc originates a number of varieties each characterized by some internal decoration within the field of the vase-belly. The flutings on the belly in Bh are preserved throughout a definite series of types. From Bk a varied series of offspring can be traced: the double handle persists in Bl-Bo, and is perhaps responsible for Bp. The single handle in such types as Bs and Bt connects them with the family of Br: type Bq perhaps falls more appropriately after Bp.¹⁰

The foregoing variations are characteristic only, and many intermediate stages have necessarily been omitted. Nor has it been possible to trace the shape of the vase through all its vicissitudes: this, both in its mouth, neck, body, and base, varies infinitely. But, for what they are worth, these types give some help in determining the principles which actuated the die-engravers of the time. Their tendencies were strongly in the direction of regularity and symmetry of pattern. This was plain even in the case of the animate types portraying the human figure, where, even though the complexities of the subject prevented much consecutive imitation, efforts seem to have been made to stylize the figure into a pattern of prominent lines, resulting sometimes in a purely linear design. This process is consummated in the case of the *Pietas* type.

There remain for notice only certain miscellaneous types, some of which cannot readily be attributed to

¹⁰ For the sake of brevity the first and more obvious stages of degradation have been omitted in most cases. After a study of the chart, imagination will readily supply them.

known Roman prototypes. Among the latter may be mentioned a man walking right, bearing in his right hand a spear carried in rest. Of a variety of standing facing figures, some perhaps suggest *Pax*, but without certainty: one in particular is a superb example of linear stylization, resembling the figure . Some types are almost completely composed of linear patterns, or designs made up of dots and pellets. Finally there is one example of a coin bearing two radiate obverses from different dies.

The question of the dating of these hoards of *minimi*, whether of the radiate type or of the class derived from the fourth-century coinage, cannot be answered until the available evidence has been considerably multiplied. But it can at least be said with fair assurance that these radiate *minimi* are not contemporary, or even nearly so, with their prototypes. There are many good examples of contemporary radiate copies in Britain: their module and their style approximate more or less to the coins from which they are imitated. The module of the Roman copper coinage did not drop seriously until the end of the fourth century, and were there no other reason, it would on this ground alone be appropriate to assign such *minimi* as these a fifth-century date. Dr. Milne assigns a date early in the fifth century to the hoard from Coventina's Well,¹¹ which includes worn coins of Valentinian and Valens. The Bristol hoard is conceivably later: not only is the module generally smaller, but of the six official coins, three, or possibly four, have been cut down to conform with the standard size current later,

¹¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1933, loc. cit.

and this phenomenon is not apparent in the Coventina hoard. We might, therefore, be justified in saying that these *minimi* do not fall before A.D. 450. The *terminus ante quem* is more difficult to establish, for our knowledge of the duration of the imitated Roman coinage is scarcely more than fragmentary. But, as has been noted, *minimi* of radiate or Constantinian pattern are found associated with early Saxon graves,¹² and, in the absence of any obvious or frequent pre-Saxon coinage of an essentially non-Roman type, it seems to be an inevitable conclusion that *minimi* based on Roman prototypes continued to form the everyday currency of Britain for some two centuries. Any such conclusion is, however, tentative, and must only be held pending the production of further evidence.

As for the question of why the radiate types were resuscitated and how they came to circulate contemporaneously with Constantinian-type *minimi*, various theories have been put forward. Moreover, it certainly appears curious that, in hoards at least, the two types have hitherto been mutually exclusive: the Bristol hoard, for instance, contains no example of a diademed head, and the Lydney hoard is innocent of any radiate head. To some extent the choice of type may have depended upon the preference of the moneyers concerned in the manufacture of *minimi*, but it must also have been conditional upon the prevalent types of

¹² J. G. Milne, *J.R.S.* xxi (1931), p. 106. It may be noted that it is at least as probable that the Wheatley coin there mentioned is of radiate as of Constantinian pattern: portions of a beard are apparent, and, in the present writer's opinion, the strokes above the face compose two clear "Spikes" of the radiate crown. No help can be derived, unfortunately, from the reverse type.

coinage circulating in the different districts: until, therefore, some systematic conspectus, of the type envisaged by Mr. Mattingly,¹³ has been achieved, we must necessarily suspend our final judgement. But it is perhaps worth while to suggest that the discovery in the post-Roman period of hoards deposited in Britain during the occupation may have exercised considerable local influence in the matter of radiate versus diademed heads. Hoards such as those from Blackmoor¹⁴ and Ross-on-Wye¹⁵ would, in the days when *minimi* represented the current bronze standard, have been eagerly seized upon for their metal content, and imitated as a natural consequence: the coins thus produced would circulate in clearly defined areas, particularly since post-Roman Britain appears, from its poverty, to have been an epoch lacking in extensive trade. In support of this theory it may be observed that the Bristol hoard shows coin-types representative of a characteristic third-century hoard, allowing for the fact that, in the process of imitation, certain types would be favoured (as for instance *Pietas*) to the exclusion of others. Here again, however, we must be content to speculate, and to hope that further discoveries will throw more light on a period of Roman numismatics which is as obscure and as interesting as any other before it.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

¹³ *J.R.S.* xxii (1932), pp. 88 ff.

¹⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1877, pp. 90 ff.

¹⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1896, pp. 209 ff.

X.

THE MINTING OF GOLD IN THE PERIOD OF DIOCLETIAN AND THE ARRAS FIND.

It was a particularly happy idea to reconstitute in part at least the very important Arras find, which is now unfortunately completely scattered, and to publish it. No one was more fitted to do so than Mrs. Baldwin Brett, who has already published several medallions from this find and has a high reputation as a numismatist. As a considerable portion of the find is in America in the Newell collection, her opportunity was all the more favourable. The Royal Numismatic Society has done great service by the publication of her article which deals with 145 gold coins. I am, however, under a particular obligation to the Society because it has given me an opportunity of discussing the paper. Mrs. Baldwin Brett, while in general following the distribution given by me in my article: *Die Goldprägung des Diocletianus und seiner Mitregenten*, N.Z., Vienna, 1931), differs from me on one or two important points.

I must express particular regret that the authoress could not decide to base her work on my arrangement by mints, especially as she adopts my arrangement in other respects in the chronological order and in the allotment to the individual mints. By this omission she has separated the very important and instructive parallel issues, and made it impossible to gain a conspectus of the whole. I must confess that at first I had a difficulty in finding my way about. It would almost

have been better simply to put the reverses in alphabetical order than to stop half-way. It is a pity also that the so-called medallions were not included, for they are only multiples of the aurei and throw a good deal of light on the subject. There is further one error to be noted. The quinio of Herculus (p. 274) is said to have the same reverse inscription as the denio. But both medallions are multiples of the ordinary aurei which, as always, have the shorter legend **HERCULI CONSER AVGG ET CAESS NN**. The number is given wrongly and it should read "like no. 103". I do not know what reverses with "BRITANNIA" are intended. In the coins from the Ratto Catalogue the weights are not given. Unfortunately many dealers still lay little stress on the scholarly production of catalogues.

As I wish to be brief, only those two pieces in the attribution of which Mrs. Baldwin Brett differs from me will be discussed.

No. 11. **ADVENTVS AVGVSTORVM**. This piece and the parallel one of Herculus were connected by me with a meeting of the two emperors, and Mrs. Baldwin Brett agrees with me. Now I placed with these pieces other aurei, also of Rome, which have the same obverse type with the short legend, while the reverse, on the other hand, has only one emperor with hand raised in greeting, i.e. exactly half of the preceding reverse. The legend is **COS III** for Diocletian; for Herculus Mrs. Baldwin Brett has found the corresponding piece¹ in the Caruso Catalogue—unfortunately we no longer

¹ In the Weifert collection, Belgrade, there is a hybrid piece of Herculus with **COS III** (Cat. by G. Elmer, no. 5241).

receive all catalogues in Vienna. That these pieces and the above mentioned go together is certain from their possessing the same obverse type, in particular the short obverse legend **DIOCLETIANVS** or **HERCVLIVS AVGVSTVS**, unusual at Rome down to 294. As Mrs. Baldwin Brett herself observes, these pieces come from Cyzicus, where the short legend appears as early as 286. That it was now for a short time also struck in Rome is not at all remarkable because until after 293 Rome was the main mint for special issues. There can be no question here, as Mrs. Baldwin Brett thinks, of the assumption of the consulate, for Diocletian had already assumed the third consulate in 287, Herculus, however, his second not till a year later in 288. The joint assumption of the consulate by the two emperors is rather represented on the two large medallions, denio and quinio with **IMPP DIOCLETIANO III ET MAXIMIANO CCSS** with the quadriga of elephants. These, however, belong, as Mrs. Baldwin Brett has quite rightly recognized, to Cyzicus. Now that these medallions are out of the way, there is no difficulty in putting the meeting of the two emperors in 288, as Seck and Stein wish to do. Indeed it is necessary to do so, for the pieces with **COS III** and **COS II** respectively demand it. I have shown in my article (p. 3) that the quinquennalia of Diocletian also were celebrated in the same year and proved it from a special issue of Ticinum—which is known of **COS III** for Diocletian, and of **COS II** for Herculus in bronze. We can thus refer many of the above-mentioned pieces or the medallion with **SMUR** (Pink, Pl. 1, 2), which I have placed here, to this festival also. At any rate Mrs. Baldwin Brett, by recognizing that the *Processus* medallions

belong to Cyzicus, has done much to clear up the question. It may therefore be assumed that Diocletian when he hurried from the east to the meeting arranged had struck in anticipation in Cyzicus the reverse which then became a special coin in Rome, a not unusual procedure.

No. 21. This piece with the mint-mark **PT** gives Mrs. Baldwin Brett occasion to raise objections to my attribution of these pieces to Treveri. She is, however, quite wrong in this. What was the origin of the mint of Treveri? As I have shown in my *Goldprägung*, p. 29, and, as Mrs. Baldwin Brett admits, the first pieces with the mint-mark **PT** are derived from Rome. For they have the same portraits and the same reverses. A mint is then established as I have emphasized (*N.Z.*, 1933, p. 20 ff.) to supply the money necessary for military purposes. It is superfluous to point out how important the reconquest of Britain was for the Roman imperium. After the unsuccessful campaign against Carausius, Herculus began to prepare carefully for a war of decision. Only in this way can we explain how in 293 it was possible so soon to attain a great victory (cf. Stein, i, p. 116). It is therefore quite credible that even before the appointment of Caesars gold was struck by both rulers in Treveri. As a matter of fact, coins of Chlorus with **PT** are very rare and so far none of Galerius are known. As already observed, the types were taken from Rome, which alone was striking gold in any quantity at this time and the mint-mark **PT** simply replaced **PR**. Why should these pieces have been expressly struck in Ticinum? There they would have just got them from Rome. On the other hand, their mintage in Treveri is very likely on account of

the proximity of the theatre of war. When now in 294 (Pink, *N.Z.*, 1930, p. 38) a series of new mints was opened and the order to distinguish each mint by a mint-mark was issued, first one, then two officinae, were removed from Lugdunum, and now issued antoniniani with PTR or TR (Pink, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Perhaps this mint-mark was already put on the gold coins at this time. There is no difficulty in the way of putting the old reverses with PTR or TR as early as 294.

What objection does Mrs. Baldwin Brett bring against this attribution? She begins in the first place with a *petitio principii*. She says that no. 21 is from the same obverse die as Ponton d'Amécourt no. 634 with PT which comes from Ticinum. Why does it come from Ticinum? She then brings forward other examples of coins, the obverse dies of which are said to be identical but which have sometimes the mint-mark PT, sometimes PTR or TR. What ought one to deduce from this? *That they all come from one mint.* At most one might protest against their separation in chronological arrangement. But I never separated them very much in time; on the contrary I pointed out that they succeeded one another. There is nothing to prevent a series of coins with PTR or TR having been struck with the same obverse dies as the PT pieces. Besides, Mrs. Baldwin Brett herself says with reference to no. 116 that similarity of style does not necessarily mean contemporaneousness. Iantinum may possibly have already struck before Chlorus, but nothing much can be deduced from the only three known coins. Mrs. Baldwin Brett has only raised chronological objections but brought no evidence for Ticinum.

She says further that I base my assumption upon a

suggestion of Laffranchi's (*Riv. Ital.*, 1910, p. 35). Now Laffranchi's remark was not proof to me but only support for my assertion. But when she points out that there nos. 28 and 30, two coins of Ticinum with the same obverse of Constantine I, have sometimes the mint-mark PT and sometimes SMT, this again proves nothing. For, as I have shown in my *Silberprägung*, the folles of Ticinum are at once given the mint-marks PT, ST, and TT, while the gold has SMT or T. Only when Constantine I came into possession of Ticinum after the death of Licinius, i.e. 30 years later, were solidi also struck with PT. But that the same mint-mark can belong to two different mints is shown, for example, by the mint-mark KAA etc. which is used in the reign of Probus for Serdica and in that of Carus for Rome.²

A further objection of Mrs. Baldwin Brett is the portrait on no. 25 which she considers earlier than that on the PT pieces. In questions of style it is always difficult to convince any one. I believe, on the contrary, that if one looks at the series illustrated by me in *Goldprägung*, Pl. II, 31-34, in which the portrait in dispute marks the transition style, one can clearly recognize the gradual development of the style of Treveri from that of Rome. Cf. especially Pl. I, 10, 11, and Pl. II, 31-35. When we speak of style, look at the gold coins of Rome, Ticinum, and Treveri either on my plates or, since my material is scanty, at the actual coins and it will be recognized that Rome alone supplied Treveri.

Finally Mrs. Baldwin Brett uses an argument *ex*

² The examples in Laffranchi, *Riv. Ital.*, 1910, 31 ff., *Le omonimie nei segni di zecca*, are unfortunately not absolutely above criticism.

silentio when she says we should then have no gold coins of Ticinum for this period at all. How weak and dangerous such an argument is every one knows. But in this case the matter is quite clear. After the appointment of the Caesars and the building of new royal residences associated with it there is a corresponding change in the mints. The old mints strike less gold or none at all. Lugdunum ceased as early as 287. Cyzicus and Ticinum still struck down to about 293, Rome, which supplied the whole commemorative issue for 293, then ceased entirely and did not even share in the great coinage of 303. In their stead new mints, Treveri, Aquileia, Carthage, Nicomedia, and Thessalonica developed a more or less vigorous activity. My *Goldprägung* showed all this clearly. No one will therefore miss gold issues of Ticinum.

I am therefore still convinced that the PT coins are the first issues of Treveri. My fellow worker, George Elmer, who has done brilliant work in identifying mints, is of the same opinion.

Minor observations: No. 12. This piece has already been published by me, *Goldprägung*, p. 28, note 1. No. 16. This coin belongs to a date after 293 and is contemporary with no. 17, for it already has the "new" style (*Goldprägung*, p. 43, Period V). No. 18. The obverse legend has FLA and not as I have said (p. 25) FL. No. 101. This coin, wrongly described by me through a printer's error, has already been mentioned with other supplementary notes in my article "*Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung der Kaiserzeit*", *N.Z.*, 1933, p. 21, note 11. No. 116. Mrs. Baldwin Brett recognizes the difficulty of the distribution; it is, however, not correct to say that the coins with VOT XX

AVGG anticipate the Vicennalia but, as I have shown on p. 25 in the case of the bronze issues, continue the Decennalia. I have there given the parallels from the copper issues.

In general it must be acknowledged that Mrs. Baldwin Brett's work is a valuable supplement to my *Corpus*, especially as many a missing coin has been found in the Arras hoard: e.g. no. 68 is the missing coin of Galerius from Treveri and no. 107 that of Galerius from Carthago. This piece also confirms the coin of Chlorus not fully described by Tanini. As I have now also found the corresponding coin for Diocletian in Ravenna (*N.Z.*, 1933, p. 20), the whole series is now complete. In particular Mrs. Baldwin Brett has widened our knowledge of the subject by her discussion of many problems. If we had always such pieces of work, not only numismatics but also history would be in much better case.

KARL PINK.

XI.

NOTES ON SOME AES OF VALENTINIAN II AND THEODOSIUS.

A. 383-387 A.D. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "UNBROKEN" OBSERVE LEGEND.

THAT part of Valentinian II's reign which falls between the death of his elder brother Gratian in 383 and his own death in 392 is divided by the invasion of Italy by Maximus in 387 into two sharply contrasted periods. In the earlier he is the independent ruler of the Central Empire over which Gratian, while he lived, had exercised a protectorate. The *Chronicon Paschale* informs us that Justina, the mother of Valentinian II and stepmother of Gratian, contrived the murder of the latter at Constantinople in 380. It may be that the seed from which sprang this fantastic growth was the popular belief in a not unnatural irritation felt by that very able lady at the reins of power being taken out of her own hands. Anyhow, we may be certain that she and Valentinian, now a boy of twelve, and senior Augustus, would not welcome a continuance of the elder brother's protectorate by Theodosius, junior Augustus and a stranger to the Valentinianian dynasty. To Theodosius himself such an arrangement would seem eminently desirable and suitable from every point of view. Seeck must be right in seeing the play of these opposed interests underlying the whole history of the years 383 to 387. Theodosius' own subjects were left in no doubt as to the correct relation between the older and the younger

Emperors, and Themistius, prefect of Constantinople, in glorifying the "almost world-sovereignty" of Theodosius in the winter of 384 just after the *entente* with Maximus, characterizes the three divisions of the Roman Empire as "that of which he himself is lord, that which he protects, and that which he forbears to punish". Is it possible that a claim to a protectorate is implicit in the form of obverse legend seen on the *aes* coinage struck by Theodosius in the name of Valentinian? With one exception, which may perhaps be so explained as to "prove the rule", Valentinian appears with unbroken legend—exactly like Theodosius' own son, Arcadius. If there is any significance in this unbroken form of obverse legend, the inference is clear that the two younger Augusti stood, in regard to the elder, on one and the same footing.

Alföldi, speaking of the change from "unbroken" to "broken" on Gratian's coinage after his father's death, calls the former "*die Bezeichnung des Rang-jüngerer*". This is true in the case in question, but closer definition is needed. A year or two later Theodosius was raised to the throne. He ranked third in the list of Augusti but never appears with unbroken legend. Indeed, any one conversant with the coins of this period knows that such a form would be inconceivable for him. By the time of Valentinian I it had become a fixed convention that a reigning Emperor always had "broken" legend. The reason, no doubt, originally had been that a man's bust being represented on a larger scale than a child's interrupted the continuity of the legend, but this was no longer the reason. In many of Theodosius' own $\text{Æ} 4$ his bust is actually smaller than in many of his son's of the same type,

but the distinction in the form of legend is always rigidly observed.

I am forced to believe that this distinction was as plain to a Roman as it is to us, and that to him the unbroken legend was the mark of an Augustus who was not merely a boy in years but was still under the guardianship of a reigning father or elder brother. That this form of legend was optional, because generally unimportant (e.g. Victor never has it), makes it all the more significant that, with the one exception mentioned above, Theodosius in his *aes* coinage invariably uses it for Valentinian. A final instance may be adduced to show that the distinction was a real one at this time. In the *Æ 2 Virtus exerciti* of Theodosius, Arcadius has always unbroken legend; in the next and last *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum* "Emperor standing facing with standard and globe" Arcadius has broken but his younger brother Honorius unbroken legend—except that at Alexandria the broken legend is refused to Arcadius also. The rule is the same on the contemporary *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* "Emperor on horseback". When these two issues were struck Theodosius was still living. In *AV* and *AR* both Valentinian and Arcadius alike have broken legend throughout.¹

Let us turn to the coins struck by Valentinian himself during this period 383–387. Many of his coins, which have the legend either unbroken or broken with *IVN* and can so be safely dated before

¹ Even in his *AV Concordia Augggg*, struck in Gratian's lifetime, Theodosius had made no distinction, except by the smallness of their busts, between the little boys and the older Emperors. Similarly later, in the *AV Victoria Auggg* struck at Sirmium for Honorius in 394.

383, have also the normal broken legend indistinguishable from his father's. This might well be assumed to be later, but as the *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.* is one of these coins and yet is not found for Arcadius, who appears in other series of the post-383 period, it seems better to ignore them as doubtful in date.

His *A* and *R* as in Theodosius' mints have the normal broken legend and are in marked contrast to the earlier usage (i.e. either unbroken or with *IVN*), while Gratian was still living. The revived *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* "Emperor dragging captive", which, being found from all Valentinian's *aes*-striking mints, points clearly to definite instructions from his Chancellery, gives broken legend uniformly to all three Emperors. But this uniformity, which is so marked a feature of Theodosius' coinage, is exceptional in that of Valentinian. The mints belonging to the latter were the Italian group, Rome, Aquileia, and Milan (which struck no *aes*); and the Illyrian group Siscia (W.) and Thessalonica (E.). We find (1) that the two Illyrian mints are for a while actually annexed by Theodosius, (2) that Thessalonica, except in the *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* mentioned above, follows in its *aes* coinage a line of its own, which was certainly not prompted by regard for Valentinian, and (3) there is a perplexing variation between unbroken and broken obverse legend in the two *Æ 4* Victory types which belong to this period 383-387.

1. *The temporary transference of Siscia and Thessalonica to the Eastern system of Theodosius.*

Theodosius on coming to the throne in 379 struck at first only Gratian's Western types throughout the

East. Presently he abandons these and strikes purely Eastern types of his own, but, of course, also in the names of his co-Augusti. These coins, current at the time of Gratian's death and struck in his name, are $\text{Æ} 2$ *Gloria Romanorum* "Emperor on galley" and $\text{Æ} 4$ with *vota* V, X-XX and XX-XXX. The last-named *vota* are, of course, Gratian's own. Other types struck at the same time are peculiar to Flaccilla ($\text{Æ} 2$ and $\text{Æ} 4$ "Empress seated") and Arcadius respectively. These are found from all the mints of Theodosius' Empire; they are also found—coin for coin—at Siscia and Thessalonica but not for Gratian nor with his *vota* XX-XXX. It is clear that W. and E. Illyricum have passed into Theodosius' hands; apparently, directly after Gratian's death. Valentinian, of course, appears only with the unbroken obverse legend; there are no inconsistencies in the coinage of Theodosius.

So far as I know, the coins stand alone as evidence of this transference, but it is conclusive. Whether the episode marks an encroachment by Theodosius on his younger colleague's rights, and is parallel to his assumption of the senior Augustus' privilege of appointing the two Consuls (Seeck V, 183-4), or was an amicable arrangement to meet a temporary emergency, the mints soon reverted to Valentinian. Alföldi, who pointed out this transference of Illyricum to the East in his *Untergang d. röm. Herrschaft in Pannonien*, places its restoration to the West in 386. But Stein, while showing in his criticism of Alföldi a strange ignorance of numismatics, seems right in bringing the date down at latest to the autumn of 384 on the evidence of three inscriptions which prove that Illyricum then belonged to the Italian praefecture. I had arrived at the same

date in another way—on the evidence of the coins themselves. The reversion to the West takes place before the issue of the *Æ 2 Virtus exerciti* which was the next Eastern issue of this denomination after the “Emperor on galley” mentioned above. Now, as the mint-marks of Flaccilla’s “Empress seated” match those of the “Emperor on galley”, so the mintmarks of Flaccilla’s “Empress standing” show that it is contemporary with the *Virtus exerciti*. The transference to the West, then, cannot be connected, as Alföldi suggests, with the date (386) of Flaccilla’s death. But is there a chance of dating *Virtus exerciti* itself? It is the one exception among Theodosius’ *aes* coinage which gives Valentinian the broken and Arcadius the unbroken legend. It is also the one (attested²) issue of Theodosius in which Maximus is included. Could this suit any time but that immediately following the short-lived *entente* with Maximus in the autumn of 384? And was not this just the moment when it would have been impolitic for Theodosius to lay claim on his coinage to a protectorate which Maximus coveted as well as himself?

If this dating is correct and the connexion of Siscia and Thessalonica with the East came to an end before the winter of 384, we have two years and a half for the scanty remaining coinage of these two mints before the invasion of Maximus. Both strike the revived *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* in agreement with Valen-

² The *Concordia Augggg I CONOB* of Maximus (C. 2; misquoted from Ramus) has probably been retouched. There seem to be traces of another name. His *Æ 2 Virtus exerciti* occurs at Vienna and The Hague.

tinian's Italian mints Rome and Aquileia. Valentinian and Arcadius both have "broken" in contrast to the "unbroken" obverse legend which was unvarying while Theodosius controlled the Illyrican mints. This is the last issue in which Siscia and Thessalonica unite. As during the Eastern connexion they had been striking coin for coin together, it would seem natural to assume that this collaboration survived their restoration to the West and that the *Gloria Romanorum* followed at once. However, the Æ 4 Victory type from Siscia, while always giving Valentinian the "broken" legend, strikes at first with the "unbroken" form for Arcadius. Hence Alföldi places it before the *Gloria Romanorum*. The point is unimportant for my present purpose, which is to emphasize the contrast in the treatment of Valentinian's obverse legend by his own and Theodosius' mints.

2. *The ambiguous coinage of Thessalonica.*

During Gratian's reign, Thessalonica, even when after the defeat of Valens at Hadrianople in 378 Illyricum came temporarily into the hands of Theodosius, struck consistently with its Western sister-mints. It struck in agreement with Siscia during its Eastern connexion 383-?384 and with Siscia and Valentinian's Italian mints in the issue of the Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum*. Its three further issues of our present period, Æ 4 VICTORIA AVG "Two Victories facing each other", Æ 3 and 4 GLORIA REIPVBLICE "Camp-gate", and Æ 3 VIRTVS AVGGG "Emperor in galley with captive and Victory", are isolated, except that the first-mentioned type occurs also at Rome and Aquileia with AVGGG for AVG.

Seeck says that Valentinian in 387 escaped from Maximus, "*indem er sich nach Thessalonica in den Reichsteil des Theodosius flüchtete*". But Alföldi and Stein must be right in saying that at Thessalonica he was still in his own dominions. Theodosius' mints strike uniformly throughout, but the above-mentioned types were not being struck in the East. If we turn to St. Augustine, a contemporary, we find that his version runs as follows: *Theodosius Valentinianum . . . in sui partes imperii exceptit pupillum, paterno custodivit adfectu*. There can be, I think, no ambiguity in the word *sui*. Thessalonica, while theoretically belonging to Valentinian, could be regarded in fact as belonging to Theodosius. The rest of the passage, too, is very significant, and Theodosius, if he had been living when the *de Civitate Dei* appeared, would have acclaimed each word as the "*mot juste*". At length, thanks to Maximus, Valentinian had become really the "ward" of Theodosius, who can now translate into action the "*paternus adfectus*" he had throughout implicitly professed on his coinage.

Two of the isolated issues struck at Thessalonica during our first period are generally referred to the months of Valentinian's refuge there. It was the one mint still remaining to him, and the **GLORIA REIPUBLICE** and **VIRTVS AVGGG** have no relationship with other mints to West or East. They show, however, a remarkable discrepancy in the style of their obverse legends, which in the former are always unbroken, in the latter broken for the two younger Emperors. If the issues are indeed nearly contemporaneous, one could speculate on the probable influences responsible for the change of style, but without possibility of proof.

It is clear that at the moment Theodosius could dictate his own terms. When the issue for which he had striven had been decided in his favour by Valentinian's flight to him, he could well afford to please his new mother-in-law and his new bride by a concession which cost him nothing. However, my present purpose is concerned only with the third—the "Two Victories" type, which must be dated before the invasion of Maximus and shows—if it shows anything—the hold Theodosius had over Valentinian's frontier mint.

3. *The two earlier Æ 4 Victory types.*

VICTORIA AVGGG with Single Victory type is found for the legitimate Emperors in great profusion from the Gallic mints. As these were in the hands of Maximus from 383 to 388, it is clear that this issue belongs to the post-Maximus settlement. But it is also found from Siscia (rather scarce) and from Aquileia (very rare) for Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius. This issue is shown by its including Siscia to belong to our earlier period. At both mints Valentinian has, as we should expect, the broken legend, identical with his father's. Arcadius has broken legend, but, with his earliest mintmark, also unbroken legend at Siscia. There is a very rare issue of this type from Rome, in which Arcadius is certainly found with unbroken legend. I have noted, but, not being able to verify, must disregard a single coin of Valentinian, which has unbroken legend, and two coins of Arcadius, which have broken legend. If I read correctly, this issue would furnish evidence of the "perplexing variation" in Valentinian's style of obverse legend, for which I must now rely on the following "Two Victories" type.

VICTORIA AVGGG with "Two Victories" seems from extremely rare or unique coins of Maximus and Victor to have been in course of issue at the moment of their invasion. It is found in fairly large numbers from Rome, most commonly for Theodosius and for Valentinian, who has generally unbroken, less frequently broken, legend, and least commonly for Arcadius, who apparently has the broken form only. From Aquileia the type seems rarer. Valentinian has broken, Arcadius both broken and unbroken legend. Siscia does not appear; this hitherto very active mint must already have been closed. But Thessalonica strikes with the remarkable variant AVG for AVGGG and unbroken legend only for the two young Augusti, the reigning and the merely titular alike.

When the coins are as rare as some of the above, one feels that the whole evidence is not before us; but there is enough to show that Valentinian's coinage during this earlier period is very irregular. I find it hard to believe that the Thessalonian coin was not struck under the influence, direct or indirect, of Theodosius, and, if so, we must refer the other eccentricities of the coinage to the same influence.

B. AFTER 388. THE "RESTORATION" OF VALENTINIAN II.

The *aes* coinage that followed on the defeat of Maximus and the "restoration" of Valentinian is much simpler. Until the death of Valentinian in 392 only two types were struck, both Æ 4, throughout the whole Empire, now reunited under its legitimate rulers. These were:

VICTORIA AVGGG "Single Victory", in every respect

reproducing Valentinian's earlier issue from his Central mints, except that it now is confined to the three Gallic mints. After Valentinian's death it was continued for a time by Eugenius, apparently while he still hoped for recognition by Theodosius, and after the death of Eugenius in 394 was revived for the legitimate Emperors, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, at Lugdunum and Arelate. Treveri had ceased to strike.

The type, though a trite one, yet with this legend had been peculiarly appropriated to Valentinian II, in whose sole name Gratian had struck it as a *siliqua* at Treveri, Lugdunum, and Aquileia,³ and as Æ 3 at Arelate and Thessalonica; at Treveri, Aquileia, and Rome his own name appears as well that of Theodosius at Rome alone. The two Æ 4 "Theodosian" issues both come from Valentinian's mints and mark the limits of his control during our two periods respectively.

SALVS REIPVBLICAE "Victory carrying trophy and dragging captive". In the l. field there is nearly always the Christian symbol **P**. This is found from all Theodosius' Eastern mints and also from all the Central mints (except Siscia, which had stopped) of Valentinian II's former Empire. It marks the limits of Theodosius' control. The Christian monogram of the coin is traditional. It is no doubt an expression of Theodosius' own orthodoxy but can hardly be regarded here as a challenge of an orthodox East to a still semi-pagan West. Still less can Valentinian's Victory type be regarded as the Western answer to

³ Yet, strangely, the very rare *siliqua Victoria Augg* **AQPS** occurs for Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius.

that challenge. It had accompanied him without sinister implications since he came to the throne as a child of four and at the time of which I am now speaking he could probably have met St. Ambrose with a clearer conscience than Theodosius himself, who was now showing marked favour to some of the leading pagans.

In the distribution of these two types we get, as it were, a complete political map of the post-Maximus settlement. They are complementary to each other and mutually exclusive. There is no overlapping. Valentinian, we see, has been deprived of the greater part of his inheritance—Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. We hardly need the evidence of the *Codex Theodosianus* to show us that from 388 to 391 Theodosius resided in Valentinian's administrative capital, Milan, and from there gave orders to the whole Roman world outside Gaul.

It is interesting to turn to our literary authorities. St. Augustine in a continuation of the passage quoted above says that Theodosius "with most tender-hearted regard restored the boy to the portions of his Empire from which he had been driven". Zosimus says that "he handed over to him the whole Empire which his father had ruled; and this was held to be but fitting conduct towards his benefactors". No doubt this was the official version, but how far the "restoration" really went is shown by the coins.

Stein says that when Theodosius returned to Constantinople in 391 Valentinian had his inheritance "formally" restored to him, but that Arbogastes, who had been sent with him by Theodosius, refused to let him leave Gaul and that his repression of the young

prince became all the more confident now that Theodosius was farther away. It is, however, Theodosius' type which continues to be struck in Valentinian's Central mints. Had not the "formal" restoration been already made in 388?

We must agree, I think, with Seeck, who sees in the actions of Theodosius between 388 and 391 a policy of gradually and imperceptibly transferring the loyalty of the Italians from the absent Valentinian to himself and Honorius. I feel no doubt that Arbogastes interpreted correctly the wishes, or orders, of Theodosius in keeping Valentinian away from his hereditary subjects.

Theodosius was a Christian Emperor and anxious to avoid anything that would shock his own or the world's conscience. He knew that he was expected to do his "duty towards his benefactors". But he felt, probably in all honesty, that something less than the full restoration of Valentinian I's empire would meet the claim of the young Emperor who without his help would have no empire at all. He was founding a dynasty and had two sons to succeed him, but though his provision for Honorius at the expense of Valentinian would satisfy his own, would it satisfy the world's conscience? He solved the dilemma by keeping all Valentinian's empire outside Gaul in his own hands, as the coins and the *Codex Theodosianus* inform us, but without any open avowal of annexation, so that St. Augustine and the pagan Zosimus, who is no friend to the memory of Theodosius, can unite in their acceptance of a "restoration" the reality of which, owing to the early death of Valentinian, was never put to the test.

One or two further points in this later coinage claim our attention. Does it afford any fresh evidence as to

the significance of the unbroken obverse legend? The majority of these small coins are from wear, corrosion, or careless striking more or less illegible. But it seems certain that the youngest Emperor, Honorius, never has the broken legend with *Victoria Auggg.* Arcadius has unbroken legend always from Arelate, nearly always from Lugdunum; Valentinian has broken legend, with very few exceptions, from both mints. Treveri always employs the broken form for both the last-named Emperors; Honorius does not appear here.

So much is clear from this varying evidence that the reigning Emperor normally has the broken, the merely titular, normally the unbroken legend. Valentinian's few unbroken legends are almost certainly his earliest and must, I think, be due to the insistence—soon abandoned as unnecessary—of Theodosius. From Theodosius' own Eastern mints, and from Thessalonica, Valentinian has always unbroken legend; so, too, has Arcadius except from Constantinople, where the broken form is also found for him, but only in small numbers proportionate to the short time during which the type continued to be struck in the East after Valentinian's death. From Rome and Aquileia both Valentinian and Arcadius have broken legend only.

Rome and Aquileia were, of course, in Valentinian's hereditary Italy and perhaps it seemed politic to Theodosius, in view of the fact that he was striking his own Eastern type in Valentinian's mints, not to go farther in his assertion of a protectorate. After all, Valentinian was no longer a young boy. It is perhaps significant that in these mints alone the broken form of legend is given to Honorius in the *Salus* type struck for him in his father's lifetime.

Another point on which a word is necessary is the great preponderance of coins of Arcadius from the Gallic mints. Obviously they serve a dynastic purpose. It is inconceivable that Valentinian struck for him in such vastly greater numbers than for himself and Theodosius. But after Valentinian's death Arbogastes, knowing that Italy was being nursed for Honorius, may well have thought that the unexpected vacancy in Gaul would be best filled by Arcadius until in course of time he should succeed his father in the East, and so have struck in mass for him during the three months' interregnum. When, alarmed by the fall of Tatian, he set Eugenius on the throne, Eugenius himself struck for the legitimate Emperors in the hope of obtaining recognition. At least, all the **Æ VIRTVS ROMANORVM TRPS** of Arcadius that I have seen have reverse affinity, and in two instances identity with those of Eugenius; not one with those of Valentinian, while Theodosius has reverse affinity with both Valentinian and Eugenius in about equal numbers. Very probably, then, many of Arcadius' **Æ4** date equally from this time. After the death of Eugenius in 394 and the recovery of the Gallic mints Arcadius must almost certainly have been in Theodosius' mind as the future nominal ruler of Gaul. Again there is a great probability of a mass issue in his name during the few months that preceded the death of Theodosius. Together the issues would easily account for the predominance of Arcadius in the **Æ4 VICTORIA AVGGG** type from Gaul.

Both types survived into the reign of Honorius, but until the "broken" obverse legend is found for him from the Gallic mints I cannot be convinced that the

Victoria continued to be struck after the death of Theodosius. However, the evidence may be there, but latent and irrecoverable on the ill-struck coins of this period hitherto seen. The consistent ratio of about 1:5 between Honorius and Arcadius in the three Richborough reports of the site finds, rises to about 1:3 and 1:3.5 in the Icklingham (*Num. Chron.*, 1929, pp. 319-27) and the Weymouth hoards respectively, both of which also show much more cogent evidence of a post-Theodosian date in the remarkable predominance of Honorius with the *Salus* type. This suggests that the broken form of legend which would imply the higher rank may yet be found. But even if there seems no reason for supposing a sudden close of the Gallic mints at the death of Theodosius, their activity cannot have lasted much beyond it.

The *Salus* type seems to have lasted longer, but only at Rome. For the Eastern mints our evidence comes from Dr. Milne's Egyptian hoards. Out of about 1,450 attributable coins of this type he records only 36 for Honorius. The issue must have ceased before 395. For the European mints striking this type our evidence must again be drawn from the Icklingham and the Weymouth hoards mentioned above. Honorius has none from Thessalonica, which therefore must have closed before 392 and did not reopen until after the death of Arcadius. He has some from Aquileia; in the Icklingham hoard 1 to Arcadius 19, in the Weymouth hoard 16 to Arcadius 45. As from this mint all the young *Augusti* have only the broken form of legend throughout, it is no criterion for dating; but the numbers given for Honorius and the comparatively legible legends and mint-marks will not allow us to think that

Aquileia struck this type for long after 395. On the other hand Rome continued to strike it in increasingly degraded style. I gave evidence of this in my report of the Icklingham hoard (*l.c.*) and the strongest confirmation is afforded by the Weymouth hoard, which has 138 coins of this type from Rome for Honorius to 23 for Arcadius. How long it lasted at Rome we can only guess. I can find no further evidence of a definitely $\text{Æ}4$ denomination till the reign of Johannes. Honorius' **GLORIA ROMANORVM** (1) "Emperor with two captives" occurring at Rome and Aquileia for himself alone, and (2) "Emperor standing with standard and leaning on shield", an extremely rare coin occurring at Rome, Lugdunum, and Arelate for him and (apparently) at Treveri for Theodosius II, and his **VICTORIA AVGG** seem rather to be reduced $\text{Æ}3$.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

MISCELLANEA.

A COIN OF ROMAN CORINTH.

THE following coin of the Roman colony of Corinth, in the collection of Professor A. W. Van Buren, exhibits an interesting, though minor, variation from the usual type.



Obv. Bust of Commodus, right, laureate, in cuirass.
?AVCOMMODOS ANTO[. . .

Rev. Athena standing left, holding patera in right hand,
leaning on spear with left, altar before her, owl
behind. CLI COR
Æ 1.05.

The usual type is Athena standing left, holding a Victory in her right hand and a spear in her left, against the shaft of which leans a shield, while in front of her is an owl. This occurs on coins of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Septimius Severus.¹ On coins of Julia Domna and Plautilla the owl is missing.² On two others of Septimius Severus and Plautilla there is an altar in front of the Athena instead of the owl, and the shield behind her.³ There is a very similar representation of Athena on a coin of Commodus on which she is standing before a seated Poseidon.⁴ Here she holds in her right hand a spear with a shield leaning against it, and in her

¹ K. M. Edwards, in *Corinth*, vol. vi, Coins (Cambridge, 1933), nos. 116, 140, 156, 174, 187.

² K. M. Edwards, *op. cit.*, nos. 195, 219.

³ Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner, "Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias", *J.H.S.*, vi, 1885, p. 70.

⁴ Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*

left a patera. It is to be noted that in the variations on the usual type there always appears in front of the Athena either the altar or the owl. The spear, shield, and Victory are always the same. In Professor Van Buren's example, however, we find a patera in the hand, as in the coin on which she faces Poseidon, the altar before the goddess and the owl behind in the place of the shield, which is omitted altogether. Gardner, in the Numismatic Commentary, says of this type with the altar: "The altar placed before the figure of Pallas who holds Victory and spear, seems to show that this figure is a copy of a statue." He introduces it under the heading of the statue of Athena in the Agora of Corinth, mentioned by Pausanias, although he adds: "The same figure in slightly varied form (patera for Victory) is placed on the coin of Commodus in near proximity to Poseidon, which may indicate for the original a locality near the Isthmus, rather than in the Agora."⁵

An Athena holding patera, with snake, or with altar, and once with altar, olive, snake, and owl, occurs on Athenian coins,⁶ and a similar representation of the goddess with snake and owl has been recognized in the field of sculpture.⁷

AGNES K. LAKE.

LATE ROMAN COINS FROM MESOPOTAMIA.

A hoard of bronze coins (K. 2387) found by the Oxford-Field Museum expedition to Mesopotamia at Kish in the Sassanian level furnishes some information as to the currency of that region, which justifies the record of its contents in detail, although the individual coins are valueless as specimens. It consisted of 169 coins or fragments, heavily oxidized and stuck together; and, when they were cleaned, with few exceptions they proved to be worn almost smooth and broken round the edges: the shadowy forms of types could be discerned, but the legends were usually gone. However, in the end nearly two-thirds could be classified.

The earliest coin in the hoard was also in the best condition: it was a chalkus of Seleucus I, weighing 4.24 grammes, with the types of Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, 47. This was no doubt a piece which had been picked up by

⁵ Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Id.*, *J.H.S.*, viii, 1887, p. 30, no. 10, "Athene holding Patera".

⁷ Amelung, "Athena des Phidias", in *Jahreshefte d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, xi, 1908, pp. 169-211.

the owner of the hoard and included in his treasure: stray Greek coins similarly occur in late Roman hoards from Egypt, often in much better condition than their younger associates (see *Num. Chron.*, 1926, p. 46).

The bulk of the collection consisted of Roman coins of the fourth or early fifth century. In all, 98 pieces could be definitely put down as Roman: of these, 23 had no discernible traces of reverse types, but the characteristic diademed bust of the obverse could be seen: the remainder were of the following groups:—

House of Constantine.

Two soldiers with one standard (Gloria Exercitus)	2
--	---

House of Valentinian.

Emperor with captive (Gloria Romanorum)	2
Victory l. (Securitas Reipublicae)	2

House of Theodosius.

Victory l. (Victoria Auggg?)	2
Vot X Mult XX	9
Victory with captive (Salus Reipublicae)	20
Cross (Concordia Auggg?)	6
Three emperors standing (Gloria Romanorum)	18
Emperor crowned by Victory (Virtus Exerciti)	13
Roma seated (Concordia Augg)	1

The name of Theodosius could be read on one coin, of the Salus Reipublicae type: that of Arcadius on four of this type, one of the Virtus Exerciti, two of the Votis, and three of the Gloria Romanorum. The mint letters were only legible on two, both Virtus Exerciti: one of these was of Antioch, the other of Cyzicus.

The coins which appeared to be Sassanian, nine in number, were so badly struck, as is commonly the case with Sassanian bronze, and ill preserved, that only one could be certainly identified. This, however, fortunately was clear: it was a specimen of the type ascribed to Bahram V in Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, under the number 327.

This coin may give an approximate date for the hoard: Bahram V was a palace builder at Kish, and there seems to have been considerable activity in the region about this time: so it is not unlikely that the coins were buried in or shortly after his reign. They were found in a house (SS 7) apparently of this period.

Coins in the worn and battered condition of the Roman pieces in this hoard could hardly have had a value in specie, even in the Roman Empire, and as they were mixed up with equally worn Sassanian coins, it seems fairly certain that all alike served simply as tokens or counters. The bronze issues of the Sassanian kings were scanty compared to those of silver: and presumably for purposes of trade at Kish any bit of bronze could be used in reckoning, without regard to the original authority under which it was produced. In this respect, the conditions at Kish in the middle of the fifth century were similar to those in Egypt and in Britain at the same period. J. G. MILNE.

A HOARD OF GALLIENUS AND CLAUDIUS II.

Although the find-spot of this hoard is uncertain, the hoard itself presents one or two features of interest which make it worth recording. It was bought by the present owner, Dr. L. A. Lawrence, by whose courtesy we now publish it, from the Adolph Hess Nachfolgen Sale of October 28, 1930, lot 2825.

The coins were distributed over reigns as follows:—

GALLIENUS	.	.	.	616 (including one barbarous)
SALONINA	.	.	.	2
CLAUDIUS II	.	.	.	315
TETRICUS I	.	.	.	1 (barbarous)
				<u>934</u>

With these came 14 coins, lying well apart from the main hoard and very possibly accidental additions to it:—

MAXIMIAN	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
CONSTANTIUS I	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
CONSTANTINE I	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
CONSTANS	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
							<u>14</u>

The individual coins were as follows:—

GALLIENUS, 616. C. 5 (48), 6 (1), 23 (1—*rev.* AEQVIT ? var.), 25 (1), 38 (44), 39 (1), 73 (3), 77 (1), 153 (20), 154 (5), 156 (2), 157 (49), 158 (71), 165 (40), 167 (1), 246 (19), 269 (var. no drapery on *obv.* 77), 270 (3), 331 (1), 342 (3), 344 (13), 345 (1), 361 (14), 382 (20), 423 (2), 562 (1), 586 (2), 596 (1), 617 (44), 667 (1), 670 (1), 686 (2), 699 (11), 718 (2), 727 (12), 859 (1),

862 (9), 928 (1), 934 (2), 961 (5), 979 (1), 1008 (67),
1009 (1), 1071 (8), 1075 (2), 1232 (10), barbarous (1).

SALONINA, 2. C. 17 (1), 56 (1).

CLAUDIUS II, 315. C. 6 (11), 10 (14), 16 (1), 21 (14),
22 (6), 41 (13), 48 (28), 74 (5), 79 (5), 80 (7), 84 (17),
88 (3), 98 (1), 109 (3), 111 (17), 124 (18), 129 (21),
131 (4), 138 (2), 144 (4), 151 (12), 152 (6), 160 (8),
202 (7), 214 (2), 215 (var. TR·P·—1), 230 (23),
234 (1), 265 (13), 281 (2), 284 (8), 293 (5), 302 (7),
313 (26).

TETRICUS I, 1. Cp. C. 54.

MAXIMIAN (?), 1. Uncertain.

CONSTANTIUS I (?), 1. Uncertain.

CONSTANTINE I, 8. C. 521 ff. (8).

CONSTANS, 4. C. 176 (1), 197 (3).

In the first place this hoard covers a very limited period. If we omit the 14 "outliers" there is no coin earlier than *c.* A.D. 260 or later than *c.* A.D. 270. The barbarous imitations of Gallienus and Tetricus I may be contemporary with the original coins. The great mass of the hoard falls in the years A.D. 266–270. In the second place, the hoard is almost completely Roman—without intermixture of coins of the Gallic Empire; the great majority of the coins are from the mint of Rome itself. Milan and Siscia are both lightly represented. Unfortunately we have no certainty that the hoard, as it comes to us, is complete.

H. MATTINGLY.

ON A COIN ATTRIBUTED TO "PAVUNIUS".



In the *Second Report on Richborough*, p. 226, I described a coin (No. 19315) of a new Augustus, whose name I then read as "Pavunius". The module and the reverse type are

those of the *Single Victory* or Gallic series of Æ 4 struck in the reign of Theodosius I; the inscriptions are blundered, but parts of the usual reverse legend are quite clear, including the final AVGGG. The mintmark is blundered also, but appears to imitate that of Lyons. This detail, however, has no bearing on the question of where the piece was struck. Somewhere near the Rhine frontier is most likely, but Trèves was issuing very little bronze from which to copy, whereas the output of the southern mints was plentiful.

The second letter of the name on the obverse appears on further examination to be as like R as A, and the three upright strokes which I formerly read NI may represent M. It is therefore tempting to restore the name as PRVVMVS, and to connect it with the following passage in Prosper Tiro's *Chronicon* relating to nearly the same period in which the coins of this type were being struck. He says:—

“Incursantes Pictos et Scotos Maximus strenue superavit. Priamus quidam regnat in Francia, quantum altius colligere potuimus.”

The Francia of that date must have been between the Rhine and Elbe. “Priamus” was perhaps the only possible equivalent for the name that a writer of Latin could think of. The Carausius II group of coins probably came from the same region at a somewhat earlier date, and the first Carausius was a Menapian. It was this similarity with recorded names which formerly led me to adopt the reading PAVVNIVS, recalling the gentile name of the Gallic emperor, M. Piavonius Victorinus. F. S. SALISBURY.

A SECOND ROSE-MARKED POUND OF 1565.¹

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1933 (part I, pp. 8 ff.) there appeared an article by the Rev. Arnold Mallinson on a very rare rose-marked pound of Queen Elizabeth in the Ashmolean Museum, described as being possibly unique. Another example of this interesting piece is, curiously enough, also to be seen in Oxford, in the Christ Church collection. It formed part of the extensive donation bequeathed by Philip Barton, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, on his death in 1765, and appears in the 1782 MS. Catalogue of the Barton donation in the following entry: “A pattern

¹ My thanks are due to the late Dr. H. J. White, Dean of Christ Church, for permission to publish this coin.

sovereign. Bust of the Queen crowned. *Rev.* Arms of France and England. rrr." This specimen is in better condition than that in the Ashmolean, the relief being sharper and the surface free from disfigurement by buckling. Both specimens are from the same pair of dies, that in Christ Church weighing 173.5 grains as against the 173.3 grains of the Ashmolean coin. The occurrence of this second example hardly lessens the rarity of the type, but it places beyond doubt the intention at this early date to issue this denomination in the preparation of dies and striking of pattern pieces from them.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

A. V. ORĚSHNIKOV

ALEXEY VASILIEVICH ORĚSHNIKOV, who died on April 4, aged 78, was the doyen of Russian numismatists. Born in Moscow of merchant stock, he was trained for commerce but devoted himself to antiquities and numismatics, especially the coinages of the Greek cities of the Northern Euxine and the very difficult issues of Medieval and later Russia. In 1887 he joined the staff of the Historical Museum in Moscow and there in 1900 he gave lavishly to me as to many another foreigner who wanted his help, books, information, introductions, and hospitality. That was the beginning of a correspondence which went on till the other day, just as till his death he continued to serve the Museum, surviving the most radical changes of staff and organization because all recognized his competence in wide fields of knowledge, not only in coins, but in costume, peasant art, and medieval work of all kinds. His chief publications were *Zur Münzkunde des Cimmerischen Bosporus* (1883), and then in Russian, *The Cimmerian Bosporus in the Spartocid Epoch* (1887), Catalogues of the Uvarov (1887) and the Moscow University (1891) Collections, *Russian Coins in the Historical Museum to 1547* (1896), and more than seventy articles in periodicals and miscellanies. He was Secretary and Editor for the Moscow Numismatic Society and took a large part in the Moscow Archaeological Society. He has been called the last survivor of the heroic period of Russian archaeology during which it worked its way up to becoming something like a science. The fortieth anniversary of his joining the Museum was celebrated in 1927, and in 1913, thirty years after his first publication, a plaque with his portrait was made in his honour showing him with his coins, his books, and his lens just as one remembers him. E. H. MINNS.

REVIEWS.

The Hadrianic School: A chapter in the History of Greek Art.

By JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE. Pp. xxxi + 1-254 + Pl. I-LIX. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1934. 42s.

Every student of Roman Art must have asked himself the questions: What is the essential character of this art I am studying? Is it Roman or is it Greek? And if it is Greek, what relation does it bear to classical or Hellenistic Greek art? Miss Toynbee, selecting one special period, the reign of Hadrian, for her inquiry, has very clearly defined the meaning of such questions and has gone a long way towards supplying answers to them. She herself has no doubt of her main thesis. Roman imperial art is essentially nothing but a late chapter in the history of Greek art: to contrast Roman and Greek art too sharply, to talk of a Greek revival under Hadrian, is to use terms that only confuse the problem.

Miss Toynbee has very rightly decided to base her study of Hadrianic art on the coinage—or rather, on one remarkable and attractive section of it—the series of types commemorating the provinces of the Empire, and Hadrian's visits and benefactions to them. Apart from its small scale, this series is wellnigh perfect for study—dated with certainty, well preserved, typical, and varied. It is this part—a considerable one—of the book that will make a special appeal to numismatists, though it is to be hoped that they will be led on to read the stimulating introduction and the authoritative study of Hadrianic relief-sculpture that rounds off the volume.

The "province" series of Hadrian have long attracted the collector, partly for their inherent beauty and interest, partly for the rarity of particular specimens. Miss Toynbee has now given us the special commentary that we have so far lacked. In two introductory chapters she discusses the imperial idea of Hadrian that underlies his issues, and the personification of cities and countries down to his time. She then takes the province types one by one, establishing the details of each type and interpreting them with much success. In cases where, as for Africa, we have literary descriptions of the personified province, this evidence is ably worked in with that of the coins. British readers will turn with particular interest to the "Britannia". The great spiked shield borne by Britannia is paralleled from a find in Wales.

The rocks on which her foot is placed are admitted as a possible, if not certain, reference to the Great Wall. The type of Judaea, so divergent from the norm, is very convincingly interpreted as a direct reference to Hadrian's foundation of the colony of Aelia Capitolina as a focus of Romano-Greek civilization. Among types akin to the provinces, we find the river-god, who has been commonly called Tiber, now rechristened Tina (Tyne): this suggestion, adopted from R. Mowat, makes a strong appeal and deserves very careful consideration. On the Hadrianic types follows the short provincial series of Pius. Miss Toynbee is surely right in associating the two most closely together. A special section is devoted to the "provinces" of the temple of Divus Hadrian. These figures, of which twelve out of an original twenty are well preserved, certainly seem to represent provinces. But a difficulty at once rises. In hardly a single case can a definite province type of the coins be recognized here. In a few cases the coins supply at any rate hints, in the rest no help at all. Are we then to think that province types were so far from fixed that major varieties could freely occur within a few years of one another? Or are the figures of the *Hadrianeum* peoples rather than provinces and, as such, given rather different treatment? It is a fascinating problem—easily to be studied now from Miss Toynbee's description and plates.

If Miss Toynbee's work can be commended for its general plan and intention, it cannot be praised too highly for its wonderful accuracy and conscientiousness in detail. All students of Hadrian's coinage, in particular, will have constantly to resort to Miss Toynbee's work to fix some detail and to discover its meaning. She has been particularly diligent and successful in noting and interpreting variations in costume. Nor has she neglected to bring together from earlier and later periods all that seemed likely to illustrate types of her period. The plates have been assembled with endless care and patience and are full of instruction: it is sad to have to remark that they fall short technically of what might be expected in a book of this importance. Miss Toynbee has made a contribution of signal value to the study of Roman imperial art. That is the main aspect of her book. But she has built into her work so important and illuminating a study of the coin-types, that it should be a welcome acquisition for any Roman numismatist and strictly indispensable for those who desire to study the second century of the Empire with any success.

H. M.

Gustav Vasas mynt. Kungl. Myntkabinettet. By T. G. APPELGREN. Stockholm, 1933. Pp. 156. 32 plates and tables. Kr. 15.

Swedish numismatics are poorly represented in descriptive literature. With the exception of the popular work of H. Hildebrand, *Swedish Coins of the Middle Ages*, published in 1894, there has up to the present been no description of Swedish coins of sufficient extent to take the whole material into consideration. While Danish numismatists have the use of so prominent work as that of H. H. Schou, Swedish coins are as yet available only in the publications of private collections. Plans to effect publication of all Swedish coins have, however, been discussed more than once, and the description of the coins of Gustav Vasa (1520-1560), which Mr. Appelgren now has written, may be considered as the first step towards the realization of this object.

It is twenty-eight years since Mr. Appelgren for the first time dealt with this subject (*Numismatiska Meddelanden*, xvi, 1905), and during the intervening time much new material and many new points of view have been published. The author has in greater extent than has been usual in earlier descriptions devoted attention to the historical aspect of the coins. A special part has been devoted to historical details; an account is given of the development of the Swedish coinage in the Middle Ages, and special sections deal with types, portraits, inscriptions, mints, and mint-officials. The most interesting chapter of the book deals with the die-engravers. The author here differentiates twelve different styles, many of which he tries to attribute to special engravers (Ulrich von Nürnberg, Jacob Binck, Eric Olofsson, and Willem Boy). I do not believe, however, that Jacob Binck is responsible for the style attributed to him. Binck's style is well known from the Danish medals of Christian III and his Queen Dorothea.

The description of the coins is itself very clear and easy to use; and it is facilitated by two tables, which have been made by Mr. N. L. Rasmusson. A third table has been published separately by the author.

It is a book of very high merit and it is illustrated by thirty-two excellent plates in collotype. ERIK PERSON.

XII.

THE VICISSITUDES OF MAXIMIAN AFTER HIS ABDICATION.

ON May 1, 305, Diocletian and Maximian, the one in the camp near Nicomedia and the other at Milan, solemnly abdicated and retired into private life. The two Caesars Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Valerius Maximianus automatically became Augusti, and in their place Flavius Severus and Maximinus Daza were appointed Caesars.

Thus began the second tetrarchy in accordance with the provisions of the constitution drawn up by Diocletian in 293. Although theoretically this system of government had much to commend it, its essential weakness lay in the fact that it lacked any adequate provision for safeguarding its permanency. No sooner had the first tetrarchy come to an end than this element of weakness began to show itself; and for the next twenty years political feuds, usurpations, and civil wars with scarcely any intermission mark the breaking up of Diocletian's tetrarchal system, which, like so many of his ideals, proved unworkable.

Diocletian, acting strictly in accordance with the rules laid down in 293, retired to Salona in Dalmatia, content to enjoy the *providentia deorum quies*, recorded on the coins struck about May 305¹ (Fig. 1.) Maximian,

¹ Folles (large size) of Diocletian and Maximian. *Obv.* D.N.
DIOCLETIANO (or MAXIMIANO) BAEATISSIMO (or

on the other hand, whose acquiescence in Diocletian's system could never have been whole-hearted, was not so content. His restless and assertive nature chafed at enforced retirement from government, and he could



FIG. 1.

not refrain from meddling in politics, with the result that he created political complications which otherwise need never have arisen.

Maximian's repeated attempts to regain a footing in the imperial government during the last five years of his life were as remarkable in their conception as they were troublesome in their effects. Had he been content merely with the acquisition of political power it is probable that his usurpations would possess but little interest from a numismatic point of view. But as, at successive stages in his career, Maximian, who seemed determined to do the thing thoroughly, issued coins bearing his portrait and titles, we have a numismatic record which not only forms an interesting commentary

FELICISSIMO) SEN.AVG. *Rev.* Providentia and Tranquillitas standing, PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG. Folles with *rev.* legends, QVIES AVGVSTORVM, QVIES AVGG. or AVG. allude to the abdication, but are clearly a later issue.

on his strange policy of opportunism but supplies important evidence for fixing the order of events.

The coinage of the period we are about to consider is necessarily complicated owing to the fact that four, five, or sometimes six, rulers were striking coins simultaneously at the fifteen imperial mints then in operation. Any collector who has attempted to arrange his coins chronologically will appreciate the difficulty the moment he is confronted with the issues of Constantine, Daza, Maxentius, and Licinius.

Under the first tetrarchy the normal arrangement of coinage was that at each mint, irrespective of the province in which it was situated, coins of all four rulers were issued. With the redistribution of provinces in 305 and the political difficulties which followed, this arrangement broke down and we find each ruler issuing mainly his own coins at the mints under his control, and only in certain cases striking coins in honour of his colleagues. For example, Constantine's portrait is mainly confined to coins issued at his own Gallic mints and rarely appears on coins struck elsewhere. Daza's appears mainly on coins of Alexandria and the East, while that of Maxentius only occurs on coins struck at his own mints of Italy and Carthage.

Maximian's post-abdication coinage lies outside the regular imperial issues. For, as he had no official status, other than that which he devised for himself, and governed no province, he was unable to control a mint. Therefore, it was only by allying himself to one or other of the rulers, and by gaining their consent, that he was able to issue his coins at mints under their control.

If, as we remarked, the coinage of the period is

complicated, the history is no less so, owing in large measure to chronological discrepancies in our authorities.

Of contemporary authorities, the most important and undoubtedly the most reliable is Firmius Lactantius, who wrote his treatise *de mortibus persecutorum* about 314. He deals with the happenings of the years under our consideration succinctly and correctly as regards their order but rarely gives dates. The "chronography" of 354 also treats of this period but is frequently confused.

In modern times two writers have drawn up detailed chronologies of the period, (1) Georges Goyau, whose *Chronologie de l'empire romaine* is well known to every student of Roman history, and Jules Maurice in the introduction to his *Numismatique Constantinienne*, equally well known to students of numismatics. Both writers base their chronology on the same authorities, but a comparison between them reveals a number of differences and discrepancies which tend to bewilder any who try to thread their way through this unavoidably bewildering epoch.

In the course of this paper I shall endeavour to show on the evidence of the coins the probable order of events where our authorities are in disagreement.

The first breach in Diocletian's system occurred in July 306 when, on the death of Constantius Chlorus at York, the troops acclaimed Constantine as Augustus. As Constantine was not even Caesar the claim was naturally disallowed and Galerius nominated Flavius Severus as Augustus in the place of Constantius. Meanwhile Constantine had to content himself with the title of Caesar.

All might have gone well had it not been for the intrusion of Maxentius, son of Maximian, who doubtless considered his claim to a share in the imperial government equal to that of Constantine. Maxentius held no recognized position in the government, but by taking advantage of the general discontent caused by the administration of Galerius he managed to secure a fairly strong following, chiefly military, in Rome and also in Carthage. As early as 306 Maxentius issued coins bearing the unauthorized title of Caesar, and on Oct. 27 of the same year he was proclaimed Augustus by the praetorians at Rome.² This title Maxentius hesitated to assume and adopted instead the somewhat indefinite style of *princeps invictus*. Nevertheless the situation thus created gave Severus a technical pretext for declaring war on the pretentious usurper. The countermove of Maxentius was to invite his father, Maximian, to quit his retirement and to reassume the purple. To this he readily agreed, without waiting to discuss the matter with his former colleague, and duly proclaimed himself Augustus for the second time.

Severus made the fatal mistake of underestimating the strength of Maxentius, and as his army was mainly composed of old soldiers of Maximian, who promptly deserted him as soon as their old chief appeared on the scene, he was forced to beat a hasty retreat to Ravenna. Here he surrendered to Maximian in Feb. 307, with the inevitable consequence that he was put to death two months later. Thereupon, Galerius

² Lact. de mort. 26. The date is given by Goyau.

advanced into Italy to avenge the defeat of Severus (March 307).

So far the order of events is clear, and the coins issued in connexion with them are as follows :



FIGS. 2-3.

(a) *MAXENTIUS as Caesar*. (Struck at Carthage before Oct. 27, 306.)

Follis :

Obv. M. AVR. MAXENTIVS NOB. CAES. Head of Maxentius r. laureate.

Rev. SALVIS AVGG. ET CAESS. FEL. KART. Carthage standing. (C. 103.) (Fig. 2.)

Also follis of Constantine and Caesar. Similar type. (Fig. 3.)

Aureus :

Obv. MAXENTIVS NOB. C. Head r. laureate.

Rev. FELIX KARTHAGO Same type. (C. 66.)

(b) MAXENTIUS *as princeps invictus*. (Struck at Carthage after Oct. 27, 306.)

Follis:

Obv. MAXENTIVS PRINC. INVICT. Head r.
laureate.

Rev. CONSERVATOR AFRICAE SVAE Africa
standing l. (C. 47.) (Fig. 5.)



FIG. 4.

Aurei (struck in Rome):

Obv. MAXENTIVS PRINC. INVICT. Head r.
laureate.

Rev. CONSERVATOR VRBIS SVAE, Roma seated l.
holding Victory on globe and sceptre. (C. 48.)

Rev. HERCVLI COMITI AVGG. ET CAESS. NN.
Hercules standing. (C. 80.) (Fig. 4.)

Rev. MARTI CONSERV. AVGG. ET CAESS. $\frac{E}{PR}$;
Mars walking r. (C. 87.)

Rev. MARTI CONSERV. AVGG. ET CAESS. NN.
(same type). (C. 89.)

Arg.:

Rev. VIRTVS MILITVM Camp gate with three
turrets \overline{RS} . (C. 134.)

(c) MAXIMIAN (SENIOR) as *Augustus* for the second time. (Struck at Carthage, at the mint of Maxentius.)

Folles:

Obv. M. AVR. MAXIMIANVS SEN. AVG. Head of Maximian r. laureate.

Rev. CONSERVATOR AFRICAE SVAE $\frac{HER}{A}$ (type as above). (C. 66.)



FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

FIG. 7.

Obv. IMP. MAXIMIANVS SEN. AVG.

Rev. similar $\frac{SE F}{A}$ (B.M.) (Fig. 7.)

(d) MAXENTIVS as *Augustus*. (Struck at Carthage early in 307.)

Follis:

Obv. IMP. MAXENTIVS P. F. AVG. Head r. laureate.

Rev. Type as preceding coin. $\frac{SE F}{B}$ (C. 46.) (Fig. 6.)

Aureus:

Obv. MAXENTIVS P. F. AVG. Head r. laureate.

Rev. MARTI CONSERV. AVGG. ET CAESS. $\overline{\text{PR}}$
(C. 88, type as C. 87.)

(e) GALERIUS during his occupation of Italy, March to early summer, 307.

Folles:

Obv. IMP. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG. Head of Galerius r. laureate.

Rev. FIDES MILITVM Fides seated l. holding two standards. (Aquileia.)

Obv. IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.

Rev. similar. (Ticinum.)

Obv. IMP. (or IMP. C.) MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.

Rev. FIDES MILITVM AVGG. ET CAESS. NN.
Fides standing, holding two standards. (Aquileia.)

Rev. VIRTVS AVGG. ET CAESS. NN. Emperor on horseback charging r. at enemy. (Aquileia.)

As Cohen assigns these coins (group e) to Maximian their historical connexion has to a large extent been obscured. Maurice, however, points out that they should be given to Galerius. The portrait is not that of Maximian, with his characteristic snub nose and wrinkled forehead, but is unmistakably that of the younger Galerius. Moreover, Maximian after his abdication generally adopts the style SEN or S•AVG on his coins.

The mints of Aquileia and Ticinum (not Tarraco, as Maurice), at which these coins were struck, had been under the control of Severus down to Feb. 307. Then they passed to Galerius during the time that he was

in Italy but subsequently fell into the hands of Maxentius.

It was not long before Galerius discovered that his campaign of vengeance was no light undertaking. Maxentius was too strong to be dislodged and showed no more respect for the "First Augustus" of the Empire than he had for his colleague. Rather than risk a fate similar to that of Severus, Galerius deemed it wiser to temporize, and finally withdrew from Italy without striking a blow. How long he stayed there is uncertain, but as he arrived in March and was there at the time of Severus' murder, it may be presumed that he did not leave before the early summer of 307.

At this point, however, our record of Maximian's movements becomes confused.

The chronicle of Lactantius, which forms the basis of later chronologies, may be epitomized as follows.

On hearing of Galerius' projected invasion of Italy, and apprehensive lest Daza should join forces with him, Maximian hurriedly left Italy for Gaul, where he contracted an alliance with Constantine. By way of securing the goodwill of the young Caesar, he gave him his daughter, Fausta, in marriage and conferred on him the title of Augustus.³

After the withdrawal of Galerius and his army from Italy Maximian returned to Rome, where he shared the government with his son. But finding his position subordinate to that of Maxentius, who not only controlled the military party but held the confidence of the people at large, Maximian developed a

³ Lact. 27.

childish jealousy for his son, who had recalled him to power, and plotted to depose him. Snatching the purple from Maxentius, we are told, Maximian declared himself sole ruler. But this insult was more than the people, or even his old soldiers, could tolerate, so that the old man was driven ignominiously from the city.⁴

After a second visit to Gaul, where he remained a little time, he set out to find Galerius, ostensibly to discuss imperial business but really with the object of undermining his son's position and securing for himself a place in the government. This meeting took place presumably at Carnuntum. Lactantius does not give the name of the place, but he states that Diocletian was present and appointed Licinius as Augustus in place of Severus. At the same time it appears that Maximian was persuaded to abdicate a second time. Whereupon, having accomplished nothing, he once more went to Gaul. This was his third and last visit to Constantine, in the course of which events happened that led to his final *débâcle*.⁵

Although Lactantius' account is concise, it gives no notes of time, so that chronologists are forced to fit the events of the years 307-10 into their relative positions as best they may, and, as we shall see, with varying results.

Goyau rules out Maximian's visit to Constantine in March 307 and places it at the end of the year. His reason for so doing appears to be that March 307 is too early a date for Constantine's promotion to the rank of Augustus. Instead, he makes Maximian remain in

⁴ *Ibid.* 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* 29.

Italy during the invasion of Galerius and mentions negotiations between the two at Interamna.

Jules Maurice, on the other hand, accepts Lactantius' date for Maximian's first visit to Constantine and the marriage of Fausta (March 307), and states further, that from this date onwards Constantine adopted the title **AVG.** on his coins.

Following Galerius' withdrawal from Italy Goyau places the story of Maximian's attempt to depose his son, of his snatching the imperial robe from him and his ignominious flight from Rome. This, according to Goyau, would have happened late in the summer, as he goes on to describe Maximian's journey from Rome to Carnuntum, where he met Galerius and Diocletian, Nov. 11, 307. He assigns Maximian's visit to Gaul and the marriage between Constantine and Fausta to December of the same year. In the following year, however, he describes a second attempt on the part of Maximian to depose Maxentius, with details and result precisely like those of the previous occasion. Evidently Goyau is describing the same event twice over, since it is morally certain that two incidents so alike in all respects could not have occurred in successive years. Lactantius, in recording the episode, gives no hint that it was repeated, which he would scarcely have failed to note if Maximian had been so misguided as to risk a second attack on Maxentius in Rome.

Maximian, after seeking the help of Galerius without success, once more visited Constantine in Gaul, where he proclaimed himself Augustus for the third time.

Maurice makes no mention of any quarrel between

Maximian and Maxentius in 307 but states that, after the withdrawal of Galerius from Italy, Maximian returned to Rome and shared the government with his son. The final split between father and son he places early in 308. From Rome, he states, Maximian



FIGS. 8-9.

went first to Constantine and then to Galerius at Carnuntum (Nov. 308). Maximian's third visit to Gaul he dates early in 309.

The discrepancies between these two accounts illustrate the difficulty of drawing up an exact chronology from ancient sources. But when we turn to the coins we find evidence which carries us a long way towards determining the order of events, even if we cannot in all cases fix their exact dates.

(a) Coins of Maximian struck in Gaul at the mints of Constantine.

Folles:

Obv. D. N. MAXIMIANO P. F. S. AVG. Bust of Maximian r., laureate, cuirass (or dr., cuirass).

Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI Genius standing l.

$$\frac{S \quad A}{PTR}; \text{ (Fig. 9) } \frac{N}{PLG}$$

Rev. GENIO POP. ROM. Same type, $\frac{S \quad A}{PTR}$



FIG. 10.

Obv. IMP. C. M. AVREL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.

Rev. GENIO POP. ROM. $\frac{S \quad A}{PTR}$ (Fig. 10).

Obv. IMP. C. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG. Bust r., laureate, cuirass.

Rev. GENIO POP. ROM.

$$\frac{H}{\frac{CI \quad S}{PLG}}$$

(Some coins with legend GENIO POP. ROM. may have been issued during Maximian's second visit to Gaul in 308.)

In style and general appearance these coins are similar to those of Constantine as Caesar (Fig. 8). In diameter they usually measure 30-27 mm., consequently

they belong to the earlier rather than the latter part of 307, before the follis was reduced. Here, then, we find fairly certain evidence that Maximian's first visit to Constantine must have taken place early in 307, which is the view of Maurice (who follows Lactantius), as opposed to that of Goyau.

As these coins were evidently struck in considerable quantities and bear the later form of reverse legend, **GENIO POP. ROM.**, as well as the earlier **GENIO POPVLI ROMANI**, it may be inferred that their issue lasted for several months, probably into the autumn, when Maximian returned to Rome.

It is practically certain, as we shall show later, that Constantine did not adopt the style of Augustus on his coins as early as March 307; and, notwithstanding Maurice's statement to the contrary, I think the size and fabric of the coins of Constantine as Augustus show that their issue cannot have begun till some months later. It is quite possible that Maximian conferred the title on his son-in-law on the occasion of his marriage with Fausta in March; but it does not follow that Constantine assumed it at once. Indeed, in view of Maximian's equivocal position in the Empire, we may be fairly sure that Constantine very wisely suited his own convenience in the matter.

(b) Coins of Maximian struck at mints of Maxentius.

Folles (reduced):

Obv. **IMP. MAXIMIANVS SEN. AVG.** Head of Maximian r., laureate.

Rev. **CONSERVATORES KART. SVAE** Figure of Carthage standing in temple. (Carthage.) (C. 74.) (Fig. 13.)

Obv. IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG. Head r.,
laureate.

Rev. CONSERV. (or CONSERVATORES) VRB.
SVAE Roma seated in temple. (Rome, Ticinum,
Aquileia.) (C. 64, 75.) (Fig s. 12 and 14.)

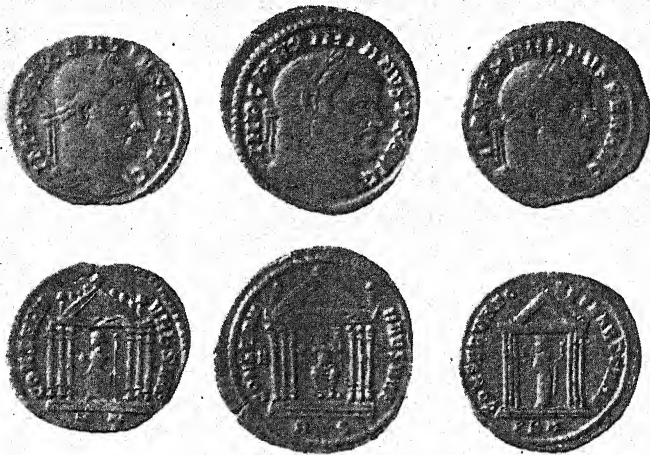


FIG. 11.

FIG. 12.

FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.

From the point of view of chronology this group is particularly important. In type, style, and fabric these coins correspond exactly with well-known issues

of Maxentius with which they are certainly contemporary (Fig. 11). Being folles of reduced size their issue cannot have begun until late in 307.

These coins with portrait and titles of Maximian were struck at four mints, Rome, Carthage, Ticinum, and Aquileia. Maxentius controlled the mint of Rome down to the end of his reign. Carthage he lost in the summer of 308 in consequence of the insurrection of Alexander. The mints of Ticinum and Aquileia were controlled by Severus down to Feb. 307 and then were held by Galerius during the time that he occupied Italy; so that, as it was not until after his withdrawal that these mints fell into the hands of Maxentius, these coins of Maximian cannot have been struck at Ticinum and Aquileia before the latter part of the summer. We may conclude, too, that as these coins are of no great rarity their issue continued during the first few months of 308.

Two points of no small historical importance are practically fixed by this group of coins.

(1) Since it is inconceivable that these coins were issued after the breach between Maxentius and Maximian it follows that their partnership lasted ostensibly at any rate down to the early part of 308. The open quarrel, Maximian's violent attempt to depose his son, and his ignominious expulsion from Rome cannot, therefore, have occurred as early as the summer of 307 (Goyau's date) but must be placed some time in the following year. Maurice's date, April 308, may be accepted as completely agreeing with numismatic evidence.

(2) Directly connected with these coins of Maximian and Maxentius, and really forming part of the same

issue, are coins of Constantine with the same reverse type and legends, **CONSERVATORES KART. SVAE** (C. 73), and **CONSERV.** (or **CONSERVATORES**) **VRB. SVAE** (C. 74-80), the latter being struck at Rome, Ticinum, and Aquileia.



FIGS. 15-16.

These were obviously struck under the auspices of Maxentius during the time that he and his father shared the government in Rome (i.e., Autumn 307 to April 308) when they naturally regarded Constantine as an ally.

But the important point to notice is that on the coins of the *Conservatores Kart. suae* type (Fig. 15) Constantine is styled Caesar, whereas on those of the *Conserv.* (or *Conservatores*) *urb. suae* type he is Caesar and also Augustus (Fig. 16). We have, therefore, a clue as to when Constantine adopted the title, Augustus. Since, as we have shown, none of this series was issued before

the Autumn of 307, and on a large proportion we find the title Caesar, it follows that Constantine did not place the title Augustus on his coins as early as March 307 (Maurice's view) but not till the end of the year or more probably early in 308.

Of the chronological discrepancies in the two accounts under consideration the most glaring is that of the date of the conference at Carnuntum. While the day is generally admitted to have been Nov. 11, Goyau gives the year as 307 and Maurice as 308. Although both dates are found in the works of modern historians, this difference of a whole year causes no little confusion in the chronology when we come to a close investigation of the period from the point of view either of history or numismatics.

Before deciding between these two dates a brief notice of the conference and the work associated with it may not be out of place.

The conference was pretentious rather than effective. Galerius and the ex-emperor, Diocletian, were present and together appointed Licinius as Augustus in place of Severus. Beyond this the conference achieved nothing of real importance. Maximian arrived full of grievances against his son but gained small satisfaction. And although the claims of Maxentius were quietly ignored, no steps were taken to put an end to his usurpation. Instead, Maximian was urged to abdicate a second time, but if he gave any promise to this effect it was with the firm determination to break it on the first opportunity—which he promptly did. Constantine and Daza received the title *filiū augusti* (or *augustorum*) for which neither showed the least appreciation; and to the empress Valeria

was accorded the privilege of having coins issued with her portrait.

It is open to question whether all these matters were dealt with at one and the same time, or whether, as appears more likely, they represent the result of administrative work extending over some months.

The one act definitely connected with the conference was the elevation of Licinius to the rank of Augustus. And as on numismatic grounds the early coins of Licinius do not correspond very closely with other coins of 307 we are naturally led to place his accession in the later year.

On the other hand certain coins of Valeria, notably those of Alexandrian mintage, undoubtedly precede the issues of Licinius, and for them must be sought a date earlier than Nov. 308.

Constantine's resentment at the title **FIL. AVG.** is easy to understand if he had already issued coins with the title **AVG.** or **P. F. AVG.**⁶ This certainly holds good of the year 308, but hardly of 307.

Lastly, if Lactantius is right in placing Maximian's meeting with Diocletian and Galerius at Carnuntum after his quarrel with Maxentius, we have no alternative but to accept Maurice's date, Nov. 11, 308, rather than the earlier date suggested by Goyau.

Besides the coins of Valeria and the early issues of Licinius, which have little bearing on our present subject, we must in passing notice a group of coins issued almost certainly as an outcome of the conference

⁶ Constantine refused to place the title **FIL. AVG.** (or **AVGG.**) on coins struck at mints within his jurisdiction. The title only occurs on coins struck at Siscia, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Alexandria.

at Carnuntum. This is the second issue of "Abdication coins" of Diocletian and Maximian, consisting of reduced folles (diam. 25-24 mm.) similar in type to the larger folles issued in 305.



FIG. 17.

Obv. D. N. DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSI

D. N. DIOCLETIANO FELICIS(S) Bust r.
laureate, wearing mantle.

D. N. MAXIMIANO BAEATISS(I)

D. N. MAXIMIANO FELICIS(SIM) (Fig. 17.)

Rev. PROVIDENTIA DEORVM Providentia and
Tranquillitas standing face to face.

If the intention of the conference was to give Maximian a further hint that it earnestly desired his retirement from politics, it could hardly have done so in a more pointed way than by the issue of these coins.

According to Lactantius⁷ Maximian's objects in approaching Galerius at Carnuntum were, first to secure for himself a recognized position in the Empire, and secondly, to obtain help against Maxentius. In both respects he was disappointed. Historians lead us to believe that Galerius rejected Maximian's overtures from the first and refused him any sort of help. As we have no examples of coins struck in the name of

⁷ de mort. 29.

Maximian from any mint in the provinces governed by Galerius, we may conclude that his sojourn at the court of Galerius was brief and unsatisfactory.

But here a sidelight on his movements, not recorded elsewhere, seems to be thrown by the following coin.



FIG. 18.

Follis (reduced):

Obv. IMP. C. M. AVR. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Maximian r., laureate, draped, cuirassed.

Rev. GENIO IMPERATORIS

O E ANT.

 Genius standing

1. (C. 137 var.; apparently not mentioned by Maurice.) (Fig. 18.)

The portrait is unmistakably that of Maximian, and the inclusion of M. AVR. in the obverse legend leaves no doubt that the coin was issued in the name of Maximian and not Galerius. At this time the mint of Antioch was under the control of Maximinus Daza and the existence of this coin of Maximian struck at Antioch implies almost certainly that some sort of agreement between Maximian and Daza must have been arrived at about this time. It is interesting to surmise that Maximian, as a thorough-going opportunist, tried his luck with each of the rulers in turn.

Driven from Rome by Maxentius, not without reason, and disappointed of any help from Galerius, he seems to have tried a chance alliance with Daza. That he succeeded to some extent—far enough, at any rate, to get a few coins struck—seems a fair deduction to make from the follis just described. But if Maximian formed any sort of alliance with Daza it was evidently of brief duration and resulted in nothing to his advantage, for early in 309 we find him once more taking refuge with Constantine, first at Treves and then at Arles, where he proclaimed himself Augustus for the third time.

At this stage in Maximian's career we find a series of small-sized folles issued at the mints of Lugdunum, Treves, and London, which were under the control of Constantine. In style and type these coins are similar to the contemporary issues of Constantine as Augustus.

Folles. (27–25 mm.):

Obv. { IMP. C. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG. Bust
r., laureate, cuirassed.
D. N. MAXIMIANO P. F. S. AVG.

Rev. GENIO POP. ROM. $\frac{N}{PLG}$ Genius standing l.;
altar l. (C. 146, 147.)

Obv. { IMP. C. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.
IMP. C. M. AVREL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS P. F.
AVG.

Rev. Same type (without altar). $\frac{S}{PTR}$ (C. 140, 141).

Obv. D. N. MAXIMIANO P. F. S. AVG. Same bust.

Rev. Same type \overline{PLN} (C. 142) (Fig. 19); $\frac{S}{PTR}$ (Fig. 20).

Rev. HERCVLI CONSERVATORI \overline{PLN} Hercules
standing r. with club. (C. 251.) (Fig. 21.)

Rev. MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI PLN Mars
 standing r. holding spear and resting l. hand on
 shield. (Not in Cohen or Maurice.)

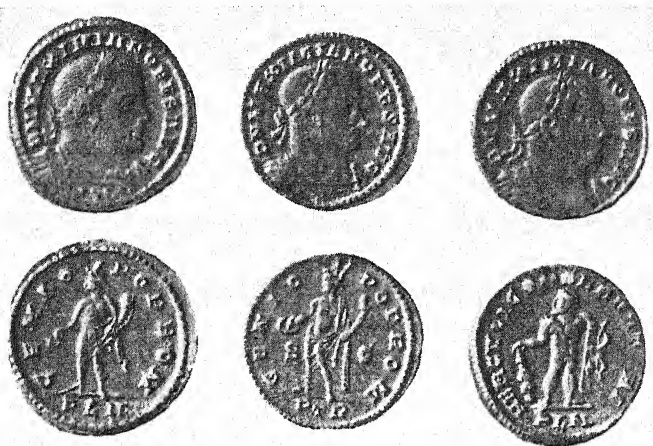


FIG. 19.

FIG. 20.

FIG. 21.

During his last sojourn in Gaul Maximian appears to have accompanied his son-in-law on at least one expedition against the Franks; and although this doubtless had the effect of keeping Maximian temporarily out of mischief, we may well imagine that Constantine had little taste for his company or co-operation.

The last phase of Maximian's life shows him at his worst—an old man, practically friendless and generally discredited, yet obsessed with a passion for regaining his position as emperor, seeking any chance opening, and abandoning himself to any despicable device that promised to secure this end, while his strong but baffled personality, unprincipled and ill-

balanced, drove him from one blunder to another. Taking advantage of Constantine's absence on the Rhine frontier, and calculating that he was at a safe distance, Maximian made his final bid for power. He once more declared himself emperor, seized what treasure he could lay his hands on, and for the moment gained support from the troops by the promise of extravagant donatives. The unexpectedly prompt return of Constantine upset Maximian's calculations so that he was forced to retire to Marseilles where he was delivered up to Constantine by the soldiers he had tried to bribe. Even so, his life was spared until he brought upon himself the ruin which was the inevitable consequence of his ill-advised persistency. His final act of folly was a plot against the life of Constantine and in this he strove to entangle his daughter, Fausta. Fortunately the plot was discovered before any harm was done. But it proved the last straw. Constantine's forbearance was exhausted and due punishment for his treacherous father-in-law followed speedily. Enforced suicide ended Maximian's career in January 310. Thus passed unwept, unhonoured, and unsung one of the most troublesome characters who ever wore the imperial purple.

Chronological summary.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Events.</i>	<i>Representative issues.</i>
305, May 1.	Diocletian and Maximian abdicate.	"Abdication" issues.
306, July.	Death of Constantius Chlorus. Constantine proclaimed <i>Aug.</i> by the army, but only receives official recognition as <i>Caesar</i> . Maxentius declares himself <i>Caesar</i> .	Issues of Constantine as <i>Caesar</i> . Maxentius (as <i>Caesar</i>) issues coins at Carthage and Rome.
Oct.	Maxentius proclaimed <i>Aug.</i> by army but adopts style of <i>Princeps invictus</i> .	Issues of Maxentius as <i>Princ. invict.</i>
Towards end of year.	Severus invades Italy to check the usurpation of Maxentius. Maxentius invites Maximian to resume the purple. Maximian declares himself <i>Augustus</i> for the second time.	Coins of Maximian (<i>Sen. Aug.</i>) struck at Carthage.
307, Feb.	Severus defeated by Maximian.	Maxentius issues coins as <i>Aug.</i>
March.	Galerius invades Italy.	Galerius issues coins at Aquileia and Ticinum.
April.	Murder of Severus. Maximian (possibly after an interview with Galerius?) retires to Gaul. Alliance of Maximian and Constantine. Constantine marries Fausta.	Coins of Maximian struck at mints of Constantine.
Autumn	Maximian returns to Rome (after the withdrawal of Galerius) where he shares the government with his son.	Coins of Maximian struck at Rome, Aquileia, and Ticinum (in style of coins of Maxentius). Similar coins of Constantine as <i>Caesar</i> .
308, about April	Rupture between Maximian and Maxentius.	Constantine strikes coins as <i>Aug.</i>

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Events.</i>	<i>Representative issues.</i>
	Maximian, driven from Rome, pays a second visit to Constantine.	Coins of Maximian struck at mints of Constantine.
Autumn.	Maximian tries to gain the support of Galerius to depose Maxentius.	
Nov. 11.	Conference at Carnuntum. Licinius declared <i>Aug.</i> Constantine and Daza receive title <i>Fil. Aug.</i> Maximian is persuaded to abdicate for the second time.	"Abdication" folles. (Reduced size.)
end.	Maximian possibly formed a brief alliance with Daza (?)	Coins of Maximian struck at Antioch.
309, early.	Maximian returns to Gaul, and declares himself <i>Aug.</i> for the third time.	Folles (reduced size) struck by Maximian at mints of Constantine.
Autumn.	Maximian engineers a plot against Constantine. Maximian, betrayed by his soldiers, is imprisoned.	
310, Jan.	Suicide of Maximian, by order of Constantine.	

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XIII.

COINS STRUCK BY BOLESлав THE MIGHTY, DUKE OF POLAND (992-1025), WITH BUST AND NAME OF AETHELRED II OF ENGLAND.

At the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries so great a mass of Anglo-Saxon pennies came into the mainland of Europe that these coins soon became a currency of general recognition and also of general popularity. There is scarcely any considerable find to record of this period which did not contain some, even hundreds and thousands, of English pennies. The geographical limits of finds containing pennies of the tenth and eleventh centuries are very great; they occur especially in the countries round the Baltic Sea and they penetrate inland in Poland, Russia, and the Ukraine.¹ This flood of English coinage, which swamped the mainland, is undoubtedly connected with the payment of Danegeld; but the popularity of the coins may owe its origin to the good quality of their silver and their fine workmanship. The designs and inscriptions of the pennies played at that time no part in their circulation, at least so far as the East of Europe is concerned. At payment the money was merely tested for fineness and weighed out to the amount of the purchase sum.

¹ Suhle, A, *Angelsächsische Münzen in den grösseren Schatzfunden östlich der Elbe von ca. 950-1150 n. Chr.* (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, 3 Jahrg., Königsberg i. Pr., 1926, vol. i). Suhle lists 69 finds.

The popularity and good appearance of the pennies, especially those of Aethelred II, frequently led to imitation and copying. Most of the imitations are rude and barbarous; their home is to be found in the Baltic region. They simply reproduce both design and legend, the latter, however, is usually meaninglessly distorted and therefore incomprehensible.² The copies on the contrary only adopt the coin-type, adding, of course, inscriptions which refer to the authority under whom the coins were struck; such copies are especially frequent in the coinages of the Bohemian Dukes Boleslav II, Boleslav III, and Jaromir. We actually speak of the Aethelred-type in a series of their coins.³ Indirectly through other princes the English type was copied by Henry and Udo I of Stade, Duke Bernhard I of Saxony, Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, the Empress Adelaide, and others. On many of these copies, it is true, the name of Aethelred has

² The Baltic imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins have, so far as I am aware, not yet been scientifically explored. Their treatment would be of great interest for the study of the oldest currency of the Baltic region. The present paper offers a small contribution towards this subject in establishing the existence of an imitation of an Aethelred die in Poland. So far as portrait and legend go, it is a very successful copy and one might almost be inclined to recognize in it an original die of Aethelred were there not other considerations against this. Theoretically, it is true, the presence of an original English die in Poland would be possible, although Duke Boleslav the Mighty presumably enjoyed no direct intercourse with the British Isles. German or Swedish mediation would be quite conceivable (the Swedish king was brother-in-law of our Boleslav whose sister Storrada he had married). Perhaps the die came to Poland after the death of Aethelred II (1016). I refrain from putting forward any conjecture. The die is quite certainly a copy. See further in the text below.

³ Compare Fiala, *České denáry*, Prague, 1895, Plate III, 12-28; Plate IV, 8-10; Plate VI, 10, 14, 15, 17.

been left, presumably by the mistake or the carelessness of the die-engraver.⁴ Hence arise the strangest peculiarities, such as coins with portrait and name of two different princes who were unknown to each other, one of whom is Aethelred; coins with bust and name of Aethelred on one side and on the reverse the type and legend of another country. Most peculiar of all is a Bohemian coin of Jaromir which has the complete Bavarian-Bohemian type and yet has on the obverse the name of Aethelred and on the reverse the blundered name of an English moneyer.⁵

In the literature on the subject there is ample reference to the derivation of certain pennies, Polish among others, from the Anglo-Saxon type; but it has not hitherto been generally recognized that pennies with the bust and name of Aethelred II were struck in the mints of Boleslav the Mighty, Duke, and later King, of Poland (992-1025). Some years ago I published a coin bearing on one side the portrait and name of Boleslav the Mighty and on the other the portrait and name of Aethelred II; since the publication of this penny new material has turned up which enables my earlier work to be extended and new conclusions to be

⁴ For example, a coin of Stade. See H. Dannenberg, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, ii, Berlin, 1894, p. 644, no. 1611 (illustrated on Plate 78). A Bohemian coin also belongs to this group, see H. Dannenberg: *Der Fund von Rummelsburg* (*Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, i, Berlin, 1863, p. 36, no. 88, and illustration on plate II, 88). J. Menadier: *Der Fund von Kinno* (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xxiii, Berlin, 1902, p. 104, no. 88). Compare also H. Dannenberg, *Die deutschen Münzen*, &c., ii, p. 590, and Fiala, *l.c.*, Plate VI, 5.

⁵ See Joachim Lelewel, *Bemerkungen zu einer Ethelredmünze von bayerischem Typus (Kapelle mit EXE)* (*Blätter für Münzkunde Journal numismatique de Hannover*, iii, Leipzig, 1837, col. 94).

drawn. We shall see that Boleslav had other Aethelred coins struck, which, though his own name does not appear on them, were undoubtedly issued from his mint.

I now proceed to the description of the Aethelred issues of Boleslav the Mighty. I have divided them into two groups, the first bearing the name of the Polish Duke, the second struck without his name.

I. The Penny with the portraits and names of Boleslav the Mighty of Poland and Aethelred II of England.



FIG. 1. Aethelred—Boleslav.

No. 1.

(*Aethelred*) *Obv.*⁶ In a field surrounded by a circle the profile bust of Aethelred II to l. On the head is a diadem which is fitted behind the head with a ring from which two bands with thickened ends depend. The hairs are represented by spikes, six in number; they stand somewhat low on the head, but become higher towards the neck and touch the inner circle with their points. Nose and forehead are represented by a straight line, the eyes and chin by pellets, the lips by two parallel wedges. Semicircles mark the eye-socket, head, ear, and jaw; at the end of the neck-

⁶ The penny was struck in a mint of Boleslav the Mighty. However, I give in the description the Aethelred side prior position as this has served as model for the Boleslav side. The Boleslav portrait is a copy of the Aethelred bust, hence priority here belongs to the latter. None the less the Boleslav side is the obverse and the Aethelred side the reverse of the coin.

line is a pellet. The drapery, fastened by a pellet-brooch, broadens out in fan-shaped folds over the breast. In his hand, which is not seen, the king holds a sceptre surmounted by a cross of pellets.

Legend (completed as far as possible):

+ /ED . . . ED REY ATGO

This inscription I have put together from four specimens of the Aethelred side from the same die. It is not complete on any specimen, on the best (no. 2 below) it lacks three letters of the name (ELR); it is not certain whether the D at the beginning of the name should be Ð or the E at the end /Æ.

(*Boleslav*) *Rev.* In a field surrounded by a circle the profile bust of Boleslav the Mighty of Poland to l. On the head is a clumsy imitation of the diadem of Aethelred II as on the Aethelred side described above. The hair of Aethelred has probably come to be regarded as a spiked crown; the diadem has no ring; the single band issues from the hindmost spike and has similarly a thickened end, below which are three pellets set in triangular form, employed to some extent as ornament. On the face the same individual methods of technique are employed (pellets, wedges, semicircles). The folds of the drapery have here taken the form of concentric circles. The sceptre is absent. The portrait of Boleslav the Mighty is a copy of the portrait on the Aethelred side of the coin.

Legend (completed): LAV S IDVX BOLIS (=BOLIS LAVS I DVX = BOLIZLAVS DVX).

Two specimens:—

(a) Prague National Museum, Fiala Collection (unarranged). R .65, wt. 28.1 (1.820 grm.) (irregular circle). Provenance unknown. Well preserved, inscriptions only partly struck up; traces of indentations and incisions on the surface.

Published: Ks. Edmund Majkowski, *Nieznany denar Bolesława Chrobrego z portretem Eðelreda II, króla angielskiego na odwrociu*. In: *Wiadomości numizmatyczno-archeologiczne*, vol. xii (Kraków, 1927), pp. 1-8, with illustration.

(b) Oslo Universitets Myntkabinett. *Æ* .75, wt. 30.4 (1.965 grm.) (irregular circle). Found at Aarstad near Egersund (Norway); condition similar, inscriptions only partly struck up.

Published: Chr. Andr. Holmboe in *De numis M D medii aevi, in Norvegia nuper repertis. Particula posterior* (Christiania, 1837), p. 36, no. 26, with illustration on plate III, n. 76. Also in Norwegian (*Urda, I Bind*, Bergen, 1837, pp. 367, pl. XII. 76) and in German translation (*Blätter f. Münzkunde Journal numismatique de Hannover*, vol. iii, Leipzig, 1837, col. 264, no. 26; illustration on pl. IV, no. 71). Holmboe has not correctly identified the mints of the coins placed by him under uncertain Anglo-Saxon. He cannot be blamed for this, as the legend on the Boleslav side, on which only the letters *VS IDVXB* are visible, gives no clue to identification. In the thirties of the nineteenth century the oldest Polish currency was not so well known as to-day or even as a little later than the thirties when it was first made accessible by Stronczyński in his well-known work on the coins of the Piasts and Jagellons (1st ed. 1847, 2nd ed. in 3 vols. 1888). In any case could Holmboe guess from the incomplete legends that the piece was so to speak a Polish-English hybrid?

II. Pennies with the same portrait of Aethelred as in Group I, and a Bavarian type on the reverse.



FIGS. 2, 3. Aethelred with Bavarian type.

No. 2.

Obv. Similar, and struck with the same die, with portrait of Aethelred II, as no. 1. Inscription: *+ÆÐ..EDREY*
ATGO

Rev. Church with double-lined pinnacle, in the middle of it horizontally H+N

Legend: ∪ ∫TIVIEVD...II (=II.. DA CIVITAS= PRAGA CIVITAS)

The reverse is of the Bavarian (Regensburg) type. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Found at Kinno (Mogilno Canton in province of Poznan, Poland); condition excellent, traces of indentations (Fig. 2).

Published: J. Menadier, *Der Fund von Kinno. Zeitschrift f. Num.*, vol. xxiii (Berlin, 1902), p. 103, no. 89 (illustrated).

No. 3.

Obv. Similar, struck from the same die, with portrait of Aethelred II, as nos. 1 and 2.

Of the legend all that is legible is

+Æ...EYΛ...O

Rev. Church with double-lined pinnacle, in the middle of it horizontally: ∫:NE (=ENC?).

Legend: ...ΛΙ∫... (...CIV...)

The reverse is of Bavarian (Regensburg) type.

Posen, Coll. Prof. Dr. Sigismund Zakrzewski; A. 75, wt. 23.8 (1.540 grm.); 18.5 mm.; found at Sochaczew (Province of Warsaw); well preserved, with traces of indentations; unpublished (Fig. 3).

The pennies described above are on the whole in good condition; the legends only leave much to be desired, and for this inaccurate striking or an uneven position of the die is responsible. In every case the type is well preserved and clear; it is seen at its sharpest to-day on the penny from Kinno (No. 2). All the coins show traces of tooth-marks, and No. 1 also incisions; these methods (biting and incising) were employed for testing the hardness and thereby the goodness of the silver.⁷

⁷ Sigismond de Zakrzewski, *L'usage d'entailler et de mâcher les monnaies en Pologne au moyen-âge (Procès-verbaux et mémoires du*

A very careful examination which I have made of the originals or, in some cases, of casts of the coins proves beyond doubt that all the four pennies have the Aethelred side struck from one and the same die.

This die is not an original die of Aethelred II. It is evident at first sight that we are here dealing with an imitation of a penny, but in spite of this it is a very successful imitation; a skilful engraver has reproduced the die; he even tried to copy the English ligature-letters and letter-forms, \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{G} ; the letter X in *Rex* is like an overturned T; the English form R with very short tail is also interesting, R takes this form frequently on German and Bohemian pennies.

In attempting to find the English model of the die I have found various pennies of Aethelred II with which the Aethelred side of our coins has much in common. I have limited my search to the *Catalogue of the British Museum Coins* by Grueber and Keary;⁸ and have collected together those pennies which resemble in details our Aethelred portrait. They are the following:—

Hildebrand, pl. 2, type A, var. b (*B.M.C.*, p. 202), similar folding of drapery, sceptre and diadem (but without ring and bands).

Hild. pl. 3, type B 1, var. a (*B.M.C.*, p. 203), similar diadem with ring and bands. The sceptre is absent.

Hild. pl. 4, type D, var. a (*B.M.C.*, p. 205), similar drapery and diadem (without ring and bands), but sceptre is missing.

Congrès international de numismatique et d'art de la médaille contemporaine tenu à Bruxelles, les 26, 27, 28, et 29 juin 1910, Bruxelles, 1910, pp. 467-475).

⁸ H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon series*, vol. ii, London, 1893.

B.M.C., pl. XV 2 (similar drapery and diadem, without ring; no sceptre); 3 (similar drapery and sceptre, a different diadem); 6 (similar drapery and diadem with ring and bands, no sceptre); similar resemblances on nos. 9, 10, 12; also pl. XVI, nos. 2, 5, 7, 10, 12 in many details.



FIG. 4. Aethelred II (*B.M.C.* xv. 13).

But the nearest resemblance to the Aethelred side of the penny of Boleslav the Mighty is *B.M.C.* Pl. XV, no. 13 (p. 231, no. 288) (Fig. 4); here we find the same technical make-up of the face, the same diadem (with ring and bands) and similar folds of the drapery; there is no sceptre. This penny is of the mint of Norwich and it has on the surface the incisions so typical of Polish hoards, whereas most of the pieces described in *B.M.C.* do not show them. I do not go so far as to say that this penny gave the model for our Aethelred portrait, but I think I have proved that the engraver employed as his model one or more original pennies of Aethelred.

I have already indicated above the correspondence of the two portraits to each other; it can leave no doubt that the bust of the Duke of Poland was copied from that of the English King. On both portraits we see the same details but less successfully copied on that of Boleslav. Both have the same pointed crown with ring and bands, the same folds of drapery though slightly differently treated on the Boleslav portrait,

the same technical methods of reproduction of the features (semicircles, pellets, wedges). Thus we have here a most rare occurrence, an original and a copy to be seen on the same piece.

The Boleslav portrait of our penny has long been



FIG. 5. Boleslav Inclitus.

recognized by Polish numismatists. It is also to be seen on another penny of the Duke of Poland; on the reverse the coin has a cross and the legend *INCLITVS* (Fig. 5).⁹ All the specimens that up to the present have been brought to my knowledge were struck from the same pair of dies; this I have been able to prove beyond dispute. The *Inclitus* penny is closely connected with our Aethelred—Boleslav penny, in so far as all Boleslav portraits come from one and the same die. The *Boleslaus Dux-Inclitus* penny is generally recognized as Polish. As every one knows, Boleslav the Mighty reigned also for a short time in Bohemia, and several of his issues have been treated by Bohemian numismatists as belonging to Bohemia. I put forward as a criterion of Polish origin the Polish form of the name *Bolizlaus* in contrast to the Bohemian *Bolezlaus*. In my opinion one cannot draw a hard and fast line between the Polish and Bohemian issues of this prince;

⁹ K. Stronczyński, *Dawne monety polskie dynastji Piastów i Jagiellonów*, Piotrków, 1888, ii, p. 19, type 8.

the establishment of such a clear distinction would for our purpose be of no very great importance.

In any case the reverse of no. 2, and perhaps also of no. 3, seems to be of Bohemian origin; for the Bohemians to a large extent copied the Bavarian type. They were immediate neighbours of, and in active commerce with, the Bavarians, and thus Bavarian money came into the country. In default of other models Boleslav I usually copied the Bavarian type for his coins; it is with such a copy that we are here concerned (no. 2). The legend seems to denote a deteriorated *Praga Civitas*.

As regards the reverse of no. 3, at all events it is a copy of the Bavarian type but its actual place of origin cannot be determined in view of the incompleteness of the legend, of which only *CIV* is legible. If the inscription on the chapel denotes the moneyer of Regensburg, *ENC*, an attribution to this town would not be improbable, but I think that we are dealing with a mere imitation of a die which originated in Bohemia or elsewhere.

The pennies nos. 2 and 3 were found in Polish soil, both in a north-easterly direction from the capital town of Boleslav the Mighty, Gnesen; the Kinno site is indeed not far from this town, perhaps 25 kilometres distant. The Duke had a mint in Gnesen; the town was his residence, and pennies exist of Boleslav the Mighty with the legend *GNEZDVN CIVITAS*. In all probability our three pennies were all struck in Gnesen.

I should like to add some remarks on the date of the coins; no exact decision on the point is possible, but some conjectural opinions may be expressed. For

this purpose we must describe the conditions of the coinage in Poland at the end of the tenth century.

The first Polish duke who struck coins was Mescō I, the father of Boleslav the Mighty; only one type of penny, however, is attributed to him; besides this there was in currency in his reign, as also later under his greater son, a lot of foreign pennies and silver ingots and ornaments. I have already observed above that no attention was paid to the type and inscription at this time; the only consideration was the quality of the silver, which was weighed at payment of a purchase price. Hence the number and variety of coins in hoards of this period. Of coins found in Poland, German issues naturally form the largest percentage; then follow the Arabian dirhems and the coins of other European countries, of which England, Bohemia, and Hungary are most numerous represented. The successor of Mescō I, our Boleslav the Mighty, began with a coinage on a large scale. At first, it seems, he used exclusively foreign dies in his mints, which changed place with the residence of his court. Several pennies struck from such dies are known. I refer to the group of Boleslav—Otto—Adelaide pennies. To this group belong coins which bear his name on one side and on the other that of the Empress Adelaide, and also those which, on the contrary, do not name him as issuer but have a reverse common to the former series. By establishing die-identities I have succeeded in bringing together a whole group of these issues, as I have done with the group of Boleslav—Aethelred pennies.¹⁰ Perhaps it will be possible later, by detailed

¹⁰ K. Stronczyński, *l.c.* ii, p. 22, type 13 und 13*; S. de Zakrzewski,

examination of dies and by new discoveries, to trace further groups of coins of Boleslav the Mighty which were struck at his mints without his name. With the growth of his power and an increased sense of his dignity Boleslav had his own dies made; we know in all about ten of his dies and almost all of them are connected with some circumstance or occasion; one of his pennies, for example, commemorates the Ukrainian campaign (a penny with Cyrillic script), another his coronation (*Rex Bolizlaus*); the penny with the name of his mint Gnesen I have already mentioned. These particular coins are therefore to be considered as political manifestoes and have in fact the significance of commemorative pieces rather than of money for currency. They are of the nature of rarities, and in hoards, in which the Polish soil is so rich, they occur only exceptionally and in very few specimens among hundreds of foreign coins. This circumstance leads me to the conclusion that Boleslav the Mighty continued his coinage from foreign dies for a very long period, perhaps even to the end of his reign. These dies were partly brought with them by the mint-operatives, partly manufactured in the country itself. To the group of dies which found their way to Poland from abroad belongs undoubtedly the very fine die with the name of Adelaide, grandmother of the Emperor Otto III, who was co-regent for him and died in the year 995. After her death the die was superseded and as such was set aside in the mint of Boleslav the Mighty. The Aethelred die also was presumably made elsewhere than in Poland as is shown by its fine execu-

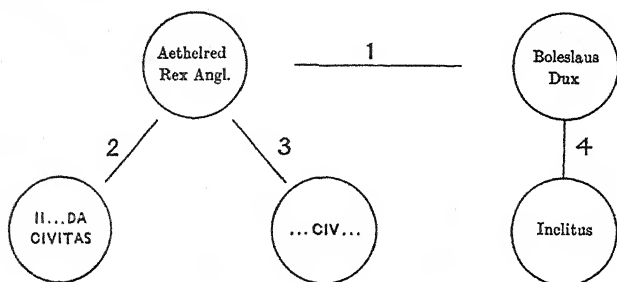
tion. Dies naturally wore out quickly and must have been frequently renewed; the supply was manufactured by the mint-operatives, and the new dies were far less fine than the old dies, as it was not the best moneyers who resorted to the distant Poland, which was at that time scarcely yet christianized and stood at the earliest stages of Western culture and civilization.

From this digression I return to our Aethelred—Boleslav penny. The Aethelred portrait is best preserved on the coin from the Kinno find (no. 2); the impression is sharp and clear and on this coin too the inscription is most complete, the die was still fresh and little used when it was struck. The other pennies are the work of dies that were already somewhat worn, and they were therefore struck later; it would, however, raise difficulties to arrange chronologically the complete series of the coinage of Boleslav the Mighty. To all appearances the series has a gap at the beginning of the reign, say, down to the year 1000. The Boleslav portrait is in comparison with others (excepting that of the Boleslav—Otto—Adelaide pennies, which is artistically on an even lower level) very ugly and barbarous. But this dating is only conjecture. In the lack of other scientific material we can, however, only operate by conjecture.

I append an illustrative grouping of the coins; from this the connexions of each side are clearly visible. I would emphasize once more the fact that in every case both the Aethelred and Boleslav sides are always from the same dies.

The group of Aethelred—Boleslav pennies of which I have treated above is an important contribution to our knowledge of the coinage of the Polish Duke. I think

that it also affords material of some interest to the English numismatist; it gives proof of the extensive influence which the Anglo-Saxon pennies exercised on European coinage of the tenth and eleventh centuries.



Poland was brought in contact with this influence; it is to be seen also on another penny of Boleslav the Mighty on which similarly the portrait is an imitation of the Aethelred type. It is possible that further material for our subject awaits discovery in coin collections. Students of coins would do service to the study of Polish coinage in the earliest period if they would publish any discoveries they may make relative to this subject or communicate them to the author of this paper.

EDMUND MAJKOWSKI.

XIV.

NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

By permission of Mr. Ralph Pearson, the Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint, Pretoria, the following record of a series of inquiries and investigations concerning the currency of the late "Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek" is submitted to the readers of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

In 1900 an article was published, anonymously,¹ in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Third Series, No. 79, p. 252), giving an account of the coinage of the Mint established in 1892 in Pretoria, and the present notes may be considered as supplementary to the information given therein.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

In the above-mentioned article of 1900, the events and conditions leading up to the issue, in 1874, by President Burgers of the "Burgers" pound pieces made from gold from the Lydenburg district, were described in detail. Following this, the development of the Transvaal gold-mining industry, first at Pilgrims Rest, later at Barberton, and finally on the Witwatersrand, was shown to have resulted in a widespread desire for the establishment of a Mint and the production of a Transvaal coinage.

This position was recognized by President Kruger (who had succeeded President Burgers) by the granting

¹ The author was the late Sir Augustus Prevost. (Ed.)

of a banking concession with valuable privileges but imposing upon the concessionaires the obligation to establish a mint. Thus, in 1891, the National Bank of the South African Republic became responsible for the provision of a Transvaal coinage (under certain defined conditions), but it was not till 1893 that the issue of any considerable quantity of coins from its Mint was possible. In the meanwhile, however, President Kruger was anxious, for political reasons, to get coins of the new design into circulation, and orders were placed in Berlin for a number of coins of each denomination. The first consignments, consisting of pounds, half-pounds, and five shillings, were issued, but were at once subject to severe criticism owing to the wagon on the reverse design (the Coat of Arms of the Republic) having two shafts instead of a single "disselboom". In addition President Kruger was dissatisfied on personal grounds, as the engraver's initials "O.S." (Otto Schulz) appeared (as is usual) on the truncation of the bust of himself which formed the series of obverse designs. These letters in Dutch signify "Ox". Steps were taken immediately to recall, as far as practicable, all such pieces issued, and those not issued were remelted. New coins of amended design were prepared with very little delay and placed in circulation.

The article also gives an account of the public agitation caused by the issue of these "double-shaft" pieces, and refers at length to the fineness and weight of the individual coins of the complete series.

It is of interest to note here that, some few years ago, Dr. Arndt of Pretoria, when in New York, came upon references to minting machinery, purchased in Europe by President Burgers, which had been landed

at Delagoa Bay and then lost sight of. Recently it has been possible to obtain confirmation of this general statement from the family of the late Mr. Perrin, who was associated with the Mint from its inception and who became Mint Master in 1899. This recent information, however, gives Durban as the port of entry. It explains that difficulties arose in connexion with the payment of charges for this small but comprehensive minting equipment and it was disposed of to defray the costs in question. It appears, therefore, that President Burgers was so impressed with the advisability of establishing a Mint in the Transvaal that he assumed financial responsibility for this plant, possibly anticipating that covering authority would be arranged later. It seems clear, also, that no public funds were drawn on, as it has not been possible to trace any official records in connexion with it.

GOLD-CONTENT OF THE KRUGER POUND AND HALF-POUND.

In reference to the gold-content of the Z.A.R. Mint pound and half-pound the article already quoted stated that "you must put something like six pennyworth of gold more into your pound than you would have to do at the British Mint". The Mint Law for the South African Republic (No. 14 of 1891) states that the gold coins of one pound sterling and half of one pound sterling shall weigh respectively 7.98805 grm. and 3.99402 grm. It is further stated that these coins shall contain 7.3244 grm. and 3.6622 grm. of pure gold respectively, "so that the fineness of the gold coins shall be more than $11/12$ fine gold and less than $1/12$ alloy".

It will be seen that if the figures for the fine gold-contents of the two coins are taken (viz. 7.3244 and 3.6622 grm. fine gold) the difference between these and the exact equivalents of 11/12 fine gold are 0.002 and 0.001 grm. respectively. Taking the value of fine gold at 85s. per ounce, the value of the gold-contents of the coins above the 11/12 fine gold standard is 0.06 pence on the pounds and 0.03 pence on the half-pounds. It would seem, therefore, that the rather widespread belief in South Africa that the Kruger pounds are more valuable than the British pounds is based partly on the phrasing of the old Mint Law of 1891, and partly, possibly, on the statement in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1900 as to there being sixpence-worth more gold in each Kruger pound. The latter statement has been shown above to be incorrect, as the true excess value of the gold-content of the Kruger pound is only 0.06 pence by calculation. Thousands of worn Kruger pounds have been melted down and assayed in the present Pretoria Mint, and their average difference in fine gold-content, compared with the British sovereign, is so small that in practice their gold values are identical.

THE GOLD "TICKEY" OF THE Z.A.R. MINT.

The popular legend concerning the well-known gold "tickey" is that in 1898 the late President Kruger gave Mr. Samuel Marks permission to make use of the Official Mint of the Transvaal Republic for one day in recognition of service rendered. Mr. Marks accordingly instructed the officials to strike the most modest silver coin of the realm, but to strike them in gold instead of silver. On the other hand, an official record

states that "at the request of Mr. Samuel Marks a number of gold threepenny pieces were minted". It further states that this was verbally authorized by the State Secretary, but that such authority was withdrawn shortly after. In the meanwhile, however, the pieces had been minted.

It is apparent that such a procedure was irregular, and would not be countenanced in a modern mint. Records of the late Transvaal Mint indicate that 215 of these pieces were produced—their actual weight being approximately 40.3 grs. each of standard gold, and their bullion value at the price of £3 17s. 10½*d.* per oz. of standard gold is approximately 6s. 6*d.*

MEDALS, ETC.

A note in the old records states that in 1895, 1,000 medals (2½-shillings size) in silver were struck, and two in gold, in connexion with the "Spoorweg Feesten—Julie 1895" (Opening of the Delagoa Bay Railway). The silver medals are well known—the obverses bearing the same design as the ordinary 2½-shillings coin and the reverses the words "Spoorweg Feesten—Julie 1895". The gold pieces consisted of one medal of 2½-shillings coin size and one of the 5-shillings coin size. Their obverse design was the same as for the silver medals, but the reverses were plain. The 5-shillings medal was noted as having been made for the Postmaster-General.

I have learned recently that the latter medal is still held by the family of the late Postmaster-General (Mr. Van Alphen), but it has not been possible to trace the 2½-shillings size gold medal.

It is interesting to record in this connexion, that Mr. Royle Baldwin a short while ago, was offered, in London, a Kruger half-crown struck in gold (and dated 1894) and a Kruger "tickey" also struck in gold and dated 1894. A high figure was asked for these pieces.



FIG. 1.

It is clear, however, after careful inquiry, that this gold half-crown of 1894 is not the identical 2½-shillings gold piece which was struck with a plain reverse in 1895 as a commemoration medal, nor is the 1894 gold "tickey" referred to, one of the series made for Mr. Samuel Marks in 1898. The two gold pieces in question (2½-shillings and threepence) bear the full Kruger coin designs, but whether they were actually struck with the official dies of the Z.A.R. Mint I am unable to state.

It is appropriate to refer in this paragraph to a medal struck to commemorate the opening of the Pretoria Mint in 1892. The two examples I have seen are struck in copper or bronze, and the medals were doubtless produced in Germany and presented at the opening of the Mint, by the contractors, to various persons interested. An illustration of this interesting and artistic piece is given in Fig. 1.

THE "VELD PONDE".

These historic pieces of the late Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek—the Veld Ponde—were struck at Pilgrims Rest during the last few months of the Anglo-Boer War of 1900–1902. On their obverses are the letters "Z.A.R." and the date "1902", whilst their reverses bear the mark of value, "Een Pond". The edges are milled and their bullion value, taking fine gold at 85 shillings per oz., is probably well over 20 shillings, as the gold used was refined to the greatest extent practicable with the equipment available. They are in the category of those pieces known generally as "money of necessity". In this case the "Veld Munt" was cleverly improvised from the plant found in a gold-mine workshop. It is reliably stated that about 1,000 pieces in all were produced. The pieces were struck from two dies only, and these were produced by Mr. P. J. Kloppers, to whom great credit is due. Associated with him were Messrs. Dick Graham, W. Reid, M. Cooney, A. Marshall, and W. H. Barker. This unique group of "coiners" or "moneymakers" was under the leadership of Field Commandant Andr. Pienaar.

I have had the opportunity of inspecting a large number of "Veld Ponde", and on two occasions have discovered these to be counterfeits—in fact it was through noticing something peculiar about a Veld Pond in the possession of a Pretoria collector in 1927 that suspicions were first aroused, and, as a result of inquiry in various directions, these suspicions were confirmed by Mr. Royle Baldwin, of London, who

furnished the following information: "Forgeries of this piece were made many years ago in Johannesburg,

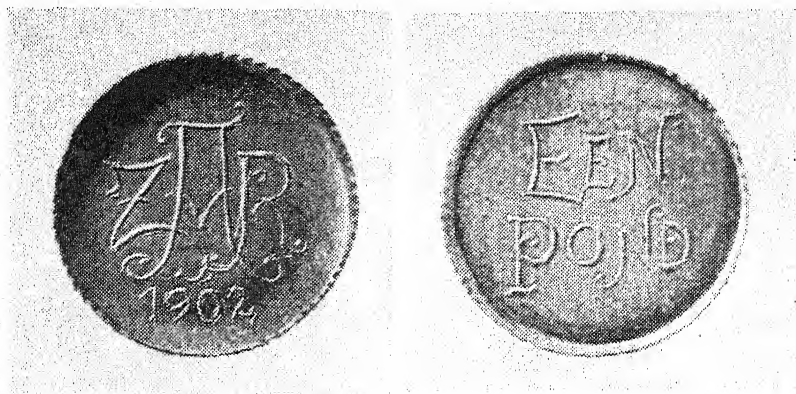


FIG. 2.

soon after their original issue. An informer put the police on the forger's track."

The Deputy-Master of the Mint has recently succeeded in obtaining definite confirmation of this statement.

Certain differences make it possible to distinguish the genuine pieces from the counterfeits. These differences occur on both faces, but particularly noticeable is the difference in the height of the "A" on the "Z.A.R." side. Recently the second suspected counterfeit "Veld Pond" referred to was brought to light in a collection of coins from South-West Africa. Mr. Royle Baldwin states that he has compared these forgeries many times in London with specimens of the "Veld Ponde" still having an official document with them. The chief differences noted above can be clearly seen in the accompanying photographs, and other

differences will also be noted on both the obverse and reverse sides (Fig. 2 showing the genuine and Fig. 3 the counterfeit "ponde").

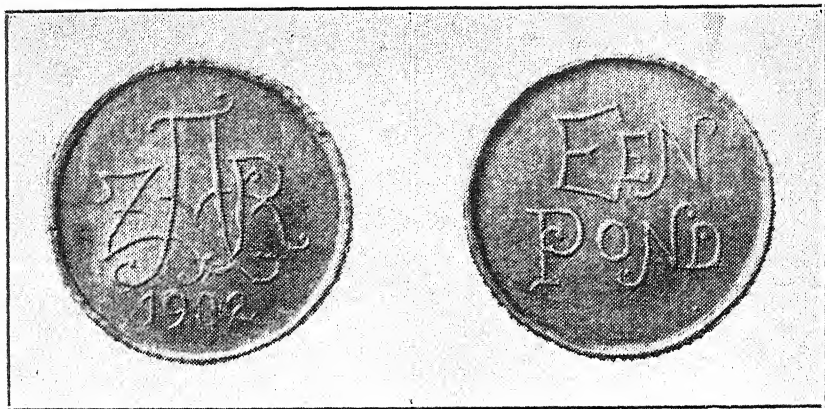


FIG. 3.

By the courtesy of Mr. A. G. Pienaar it has been possible to verify certain of the above statements in reference to counterfeit "Veld Ponde". The accompanying illustration (Fig. 4) shows two pieces retained by Mr. Pienaar at the time of manufacture, and kept solely in his possession since. Both Mr. Pienaar and Mr. Kloppers have definitely stated that only one pair of dies was used, and that they were kept under lock and key when not in actual use, so that it can be affirmed that any pieces which differ in the slightest degree from those shown in Fig. 4 are not genuine. Incidentally, it may be noted also that from careful records taken of weight and dimensions of a considerable number of "Veld Ponde" it is possible to judge in several other ways as to the genuineness of a piece

in addition to comparison with the original photograph (Fig. 4).

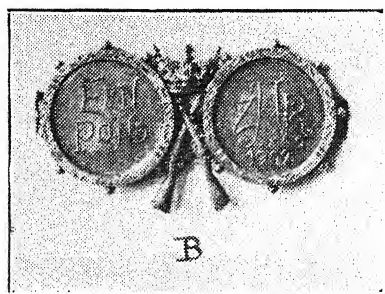


FIG. 4.

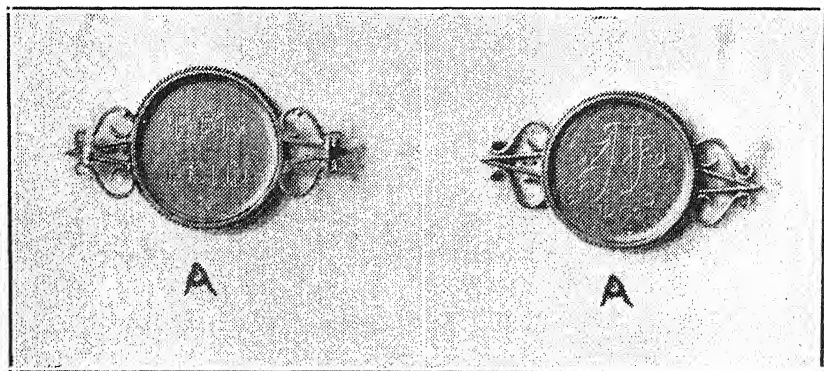


FIG. 5.

It is interesting to note also that prior to the final approval of the pair of dies actually used, another pair was tested, but was not accepted. Mr. Pienaar retained one test piece only, struck from this original pair of dies—all other test pieces and the dies themselves were then destroyed. This interesting and unique piece is illustrated in Fig. 5. It will be acknowledged that the

later dies were greatly superior in design and artistic merit to the earlier pair tested, and one is impressed,

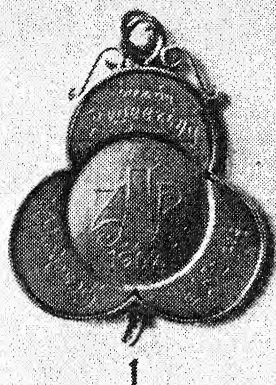


FIG. 6.

in considering these pieces, with the skill and ingenuity which was displayed firstly in the work of refining the gold (Mr. M. Cooney was the assayer), later in melting and pouring the necessary gold bars, and, finally, in stamping these blank pieces. That the late Z.A.R. Government greatly appreciated these efforts to provide emergency currency is evidenced by two documents which refer to the medals shown in Figs. 6 and 7.

These documents are translated below, and it will be seen that the medal no. 1 was presented to Mr. Pienaar, whilst medals no. 2 were presented to each of his colleagues connected with the "State Mint in the Field".

Pelgrims Rust, 1st June, 1902.

Mr. A. G. Pienaar,

Member Commission State Mint in the Field.

Sir,

On behalf of the Commission of the State Mint in the field, I have the honour to present you with a medal (disc) stamped with the monogram of the Z.A.R. on the one side and blank on the other side in commemoration of the work done by you in connexion with the State Mint in the Field. On the blank side you may have the following engraved: A. G. Pienaar, Member Commission State Mint in the Field.

I am also directed by the Commission to express to you sincere thanks on behalf of the late Z.A.R. Government for all your goodwill and unflinching ardour in this matter. Whatever the issue may be, you have in any case reason to be proud of the way in which you served your Government. The Government in its turn is also proud of men like you who give all their strength and who do not find any sacrifice too great to further the interest of our cause.

Respectfully and with kind wishes,

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

PH. C. MINNAAR,

Secretary Commission State Mint in the Field.

Pelgrims Rust,
5th May, 1902.

Mr. Andr. Pienaar,

F. C. Johannesburg Commando.

Hon. Sir,

You are hereby directed to present General Muller, Field Commandant Andr. Pienaar, Messrs. P. J. Klopers, jun., W. Reid, D. Graham, M. Cooney, A. Marshall, and W. H. Barker each with a medal (disc) on behalf of the Government.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

L. J. MEYER,

J. C. KROGH,

Members Executive Council.

In addition to the counterfeit "Veld Ponde" described above, I have lately had an opportunity of

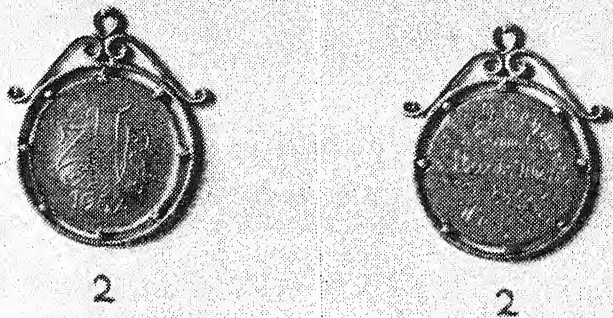


FIG. 7.

inspecting a base metal model of the "Veld Ponde". It is struck from dies which differ in many details from the original dies and from the counterfeit dies referred to above. It is evenly struck and milled, and weighs 68 grs. The piece is gilded or plated to a gold colour. I am informed that eleven such pieces in all were found amongst the "effects" of an old Transvaal officer, but no information is available as to why and where they were struck. They were made, I understand, shortly after the Boer War—possibly for the purpose of being sold as souvenirs. At that time the genuine pieces were changing hands at very high prices.

"VELD BLANKS".

These blank pieces ("pond" size) in standard gold were used during the war period also, and are much sought after by collectors. They were taken from the Transvaal Mint and formed part of the famous "Kruger

Millions", and are "pond" pieces in a partly completed stage of manufacture. In some instances these pieces are "marked", i.e. they have a raised rim and in others they are perfectly plain. Many of the pieces have a more or less defined circular mark on their flat surface (sometimes on both sides), concentric with the perimeter. This was produced by the "scraping" machine, which reduced the weight of "too heavy" blanks in the Transvaal Mint, and is evidence of genuineness. Its absence, however, must not be taken as evidence of any piece not being genuine, as some pieces did not require to be scraped. Other small but definite differences have been tabulated in order to make it possible to judge of the genuineness of these blanks, and the Deputy-Master of the Mint is always pleased to examine specimens sent for inspection.

It has been frequently stated that the pieces which are "marked" (raised rims) are "Machadodorp blanks", and those which are plain, "Lydenburg blanks". Mr. Kloppers, in answering an inquiry on this point, states, in a very valuable summary of the matter, that "all the coined gold and silver, the blanks and a certain quantity of 'bar gold' was removed from the Pretoria Mint just before the occupation of Pretoria by the British. This was put on the trains by which several officials, including the Auditor-General, travelled to Middelburg, and was guarded by Z.A.R. Guards. Middelburg was for about a fortnight the 'Capital'. Afterwards the Government moved on to Machadodorp, and from there to Waterval Boven, and, lastly, to Hectorspruit. In the three latter places I saw the Government on wheels myself: at Machadodorp and Waterval Boven, where I had to receive the salaries

for the officials in the Noordkaap district; at Hectorspruit, when our Commandos passed through. The salaries, which were paid out to me at Machadodorp and Waterval Boven, were paid 75 per cent. in 'blue backs' and 25 per cent. in properly minted gold coins. At that time 'blanks' were already known, but only the officials had a few of them, and they were then regarded as curios. They had not yet been issued in payment. . . . Only afterwards when the stock of minted gold was exhausted were the blanks issued. There cannot have been many of them. They were probably exchanged at some discount with buyers who still had money in their possession. They were also used to pay for sheep and grain obtained from farmers, though most of the payments were made in 'blue backs' only. The 'blanks' could not be used to buy provisions from the natives, they would not accept them, and at that time were shy of any pounds, except those 'with the horse on it' (St. George and the Dragon). There can, therefore, be no question of either Machadodorp or Lydenburg 'blanks'—at Machadodorp none were paid out, although some officials may have secured a few. After the departure from Hectorspruit the Government wandered with the Commandos from one district to another, and it would be impossible to say in which district and when the blanks were used for payment. Then towards the end of 1901 the Government, after its wanderings, came to Steenkampsberg, where I visited them; there were definitely no coined pounds nor 'blanks'; the Government only had 'blue backs' (printed at Pietersburg) and some bar gold. After that time I printed 'blue backs' at Pilgrims Rest and made bar gold into the Z A.R. 'Veld Ponde' that you know.

These were the only coins ever made on the veld during the war. No 'blanks' were ever made, except at Pretoria."

From this statement of Mr. Kloppers it is clear that the issue of the "rimmed" and the "plain" blanks cannot be ascribed to any one particular town or district, and that the terms "Machadodorp blanks" and "Lydenburg blanks" are misleading.

In the above notes no mention has been made of "blank" half-ponde and "blank" pennies. "Blank" half-ponde have been noted once or twice only in correspondence and in the Press, but no opportunity has occurred of inspecting any until recently, when I examined one in Mr. Royle Baldwin's collection. Such pieces must be extremely rare. Possibly a few were taken on to the veld in 1900 with the commandeered gold, but as the last "half-ponde" were minted in 1897 this is difficult to understand. The "blank" pence that come to light occasionally are probably from the odd bronze remaining over from the 1898 penny coinage. It is possible that the National Bank took over such pieces at the closing of the Mint and that a few have been given as souvenirs to clients and visitors from time to time.

THE OVERSTAMPED "1899 POND".

Certain of the old Mint documents state that the Mint Master in 1899 ordered that 102 of the "ponde" then being minted with 1898 dies (which were the only dies available) be overstruck with "99" in small figures below the head on the obverse side. One hundred were to be Mint coins specially reserved for the purpose and two were to be "ordinary coins passed

into circulation". These were entrusted to one of the staff (the foreman) for the purpose of stamping, but that official stamped more than directed—the number in excess being 28. The Mint Master stated that verbal authority for his action had been received from the Secretary of State.

It may be noted, however, in this connexion that the usual custom and practically invariable rule in all Mints is that the date stamped on the coin is that of the actual year of production. In this case, however, the 1899 dies never reached Pretoria, as they were seized at Delagoa Bay. All ponde struck in 1899 were struck with 1898 dies, therefore, and this over-stamping of a small number of pieces was doubtless carried out in order to mark the war-time re-opening of the Mint for gold coinage. I have been reliably informed that several well-known persons were present on this historic occasion.

The Deputy-Master of the Mint, in the course of inquiries in regard to the above matters, received a communication from a collector, who stated: "I have now purchased the 1898 pond with '99' under the head, and with it I have a copy of a certificate written in German, of which the following is a translation:

Pretoria, 28th Nov., 1901.

I hereby declare that the pond piece of the S.A.R. of 1898 with a small "99" under the head of the President submitted to me to-day by Mr. Biermann, Consul, for examination is genuine, i.e. that it is one of those which I as foreman struck personally on the order of the Mint Master.

(Signed) A. HERMANES.

I hereby confirm the signature of Mr. A. Hermanes, who is known to me personally.

Pretoria, the 28th November, 1901.

The Imperial Consul.

(stamp)

BIERMANN.

It would appear, therefore, that 130 of these pieces were over stamped. Specimens are very scarce, and have realized as much as £25 each.

THE BURGERS POND.

A very complete statement regarding the 837 "ponde" minted in Birmingham for President Burgers is given in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1900 already noted. The statement therein that each "pond" cost 26 shillings to produce, however, may be referred to. This figure, at first sight, appears high, but it should be borne in mind, that in producing even so small a number as 837 of such coins, the heavy initial costs of preparing designs, dies, and tools cannot be avoided. In this instance, it must be admitted, the manufacturers produced an artistic and well-made piece, and this necessarily involved careful preparation. Their difficulty was greater than usual as President Burgers was not available to "sit" for the artist-engraver. The obverse design must have been prepared from such information as sketches, photographs, and verbal instructions, &c. In view of these considerations the costs in question do not appear to be unreasonable. They should not, however, be taken as any indication of the cost of producing pound pieces in large quantities.

BURGERS PATTERN PIECES.

Between 1874 and 1892 efforts were made to secure the contract for coinages for the various States of South Africa by an enterprising firm in Berlin, Otto Nolte & Company. Professor Arndt's *Banking and Currency in South Africa* refers to certain documents from this

firm, which are in the O.F.S. Archives and which contain tenders and specifications for the supply of coins for the Orange Free State. It seems most probable that this firm was responsible for the production of a very remarkable number of pattern pieces of various designs. These patterns are exceedingly well produced and reflect credit on the manufacturers. The designs chosen varied according to the State from which orders were being solicited. Designs were struck for the Cape of Good Hope, Griqua Town, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, and several South American countries. Estate checks for large South American haciendas, and tokens for important business firms, &c., were tendered for in the same manner. Most of the South African patterns are beautifully made. A number are very rare and some are unique. No record of the number issued is available. Possibly after submitting specimens to the Governments interested surplus pieces were sold to numismatists. The firm has ceased operations and recent inquiries have failed to reveal any additional information. Professor Arndt gives details of the Free State tenders for silver and copper pieces, thus:

925 Std. silver crown pieces at 4 marks, 925 Std. silver half-crown pieces at 2 marks, 925 std. silver one-fifth crown pieces (*6d.*) at 0.8 marks, 925 std. silver one-tenth pieces (*3d.*) at 0.4 marks.

Copper penny pieces at 21 marks per 1,000 pieces.
Copper half penny pieces at 21 marks per 1,000 pieces.
Copper quarter penny pieces at 11 marks per 1,000 pieces.

In view of the fact that the prices seem to indicate an equal share of profit between the Free State and the manufacturer they appear reasonable and fair.

The Burgers series, which is illustrated and tabulated

below, is remarkably complete and interesting. All pieces bear the date 1874. The Burgers pond is included in order to allow of comparisons being made



FIGS. 8, 9.

with the Burgers pattern pieces. The aluminium pieces are described by the courtesy of Mr. J. T. Oettle, of Pretoria.

Denomination :

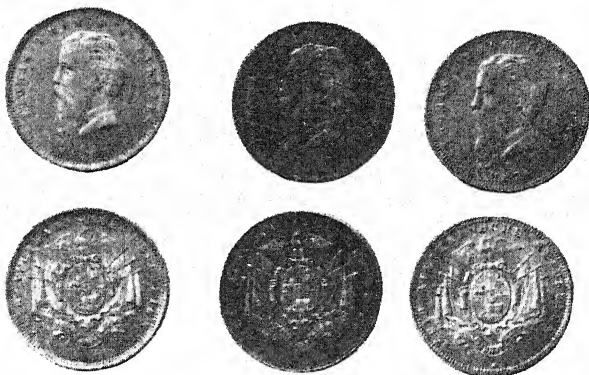
No. 1. Pattern £5 or 5s. Metal, bronze gilt; diameter 1.513; wt. 385.02 grs.; thickness .0116; edge, milled. [Fig. 8.]

No. 2. Pattern 5s. (piedfort): Metal, silver; diameter 1.508; wt. 845.86 grs.; thickness .200-.207; edge, plain. [Fig. 9.]

The differences between nos. 1 and 2 are that the date is at a different angle relative to the head, and there is a pellet after the date only on no. 2.

No. 3. Pond; Metal, standard gold; diameter .879; wt. 123.84 grs.; thickness .091-.087; edge, milled. [Fig. 10.]

No. 4. Pattern Pond; Metal, bronze; diameter .872; wt. 65.97 grs.; thickness .065-.068; edge, milled. [Fig. 11.]



FIGS. 10, 11, 12.

No. 5. Do.; Metal, aluminium; diameter .885; wt. 17.8 grs.; thickness .057-.062; edge, milled. [Fig. 12.]

In no. 4 obverse there are differences from no. 3 in the points of the beard and the date is at a different angle; the reverse differs in the folds of the flag and the small streamer with motto has a plain edge not outlined as on no. 3. The obverse die of no. 5 compared with no. 3 shows differences in the shape of the forehead, in the character of the lettering and in the date spacing; the reverse die differs from no. 3 in details of the lettering and in the letter *D* in the word *EENDRAGT* in the motto.

No. 6. Pattern Pond (piedfort); Metal, aluminium; diameter .887; wt. 31.83 grs.; thickness .091-.096; edge, milled. Same dies as no. 5.

No. 7. Pattern 5s.; Metal, aluminium; diameter 1.512; wt. 113.92 grs.; thickness .113-.118; edge, milled. Same dies as no. 1 (and milling similar).

- No. 8. Do.; Metal, aluminium; diameter 1.523; wt. 119.48 grs.; thickness .116-.126; edge, milled. Same dies as no. 2.



FIG. 13.

- No. 9. Pattern 2s. 6d.; Metal, silver; diameter 1.277; wt. 219.45 grs.; thickness .077; edge, milled. [Fig. 13.]

- No. 10. Do.; Metal, aluminium; diameter 1.282; wt. 62.78 grs.; thickness .083-.088; edge, milled. Same die as no. 9.

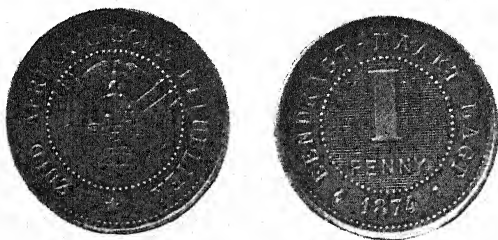


FIG. 14.

- No. 11. Do.; Metal, aluminium; diameter 1.264; wt. 62.82 grs.; thickness .084-.087; edge, plain. Same die as nos. 9 and 10.

- No. 12. Pattern Penny (piedfort); Metal, copper or bronze; diameter 1.208; wt. 385.52 grs.; thickness .168-.180; edge, plain. [Fig. 14.]

In addition to the above pieces, the following pattern pieces have been noted at various times as opportunities have occurred:

ZUID AFRIKAANSCH REPUBLIEK—PATTERNS.

No. 13. A Twopenny piece in copper or bronze. Obverse as no. 6. Reverse: "Eendragt Maakt Magt, 1874", encircling "2 Pence"; the word "Muntsproeve" under "pence" in small letters and a dotted circle as in no. 6 design; diameter 1.2 in. (approx.). (W. V. Royle Baldwin and A. S. Rogers.)

No. 14. Penny. Obverse and reverse, design as no. 6; wt. 155.26 grs.; edge, plain; copper or bronze. (Royal Mint, Pretoria.) Another piece; similar but 124 grs. in weight (W. V. Royle Baldwin).

No. 15. A Penny in copper or bronze. Obverse: "Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek, 1890", around a central shield bearing the arms of the Republic. The arms are larger and the lettering smaller than on no. 6. On a ribbon beneath the shield the national motto with gutturals in the words indicated by "ch" (not "g"). Note.—The trek wagon on the shield has a "double shaft". Reverse: Within a conventional oak and laurel wreath "1 Penny"; in the exergue a small letter "v". (W. V. Royle Baldwin and A. S. Rogers.)

(The Transvaal arms on this type pattern, it will be noted, differ materially from the arms shown on the other Transvaal patterns. The double-shaft wagon resembles a small house on wheels with a door in the side; the Boer figure holds an anchor instead of a gun and the eagle's head is turned in the reverse direction, in addition to the differences already noted. These peculiarities appeared, originally, on a medal dated 1884 which was struck to commemorate the visit of a Transvaal deputation to the Netherlands. It seems, therefore, that the "double-shaft" error can be traced back to 1884.)

ORANJE VRYJSTAAT—PATTERNS.

No. 16. A Crown Piece in silver. The design is similar to no. 20 except that below the mark of value on the reverse is "—L L G—"; beneath the wreath is the word "Essay" and the date is "1887". (A. S. Rogers.)

No. 17. A Penny in copper or bronze. Obverse: A tree with three hunting horns, one on either side and one beneath it; around, "Oranje Vryjstaat". Reverse:



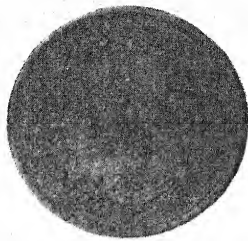
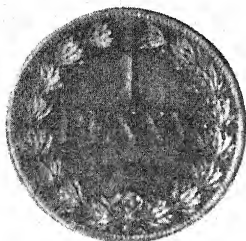
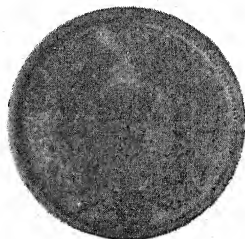
FIG. 15.

Within a laurel wreath "Een Penny 1874"; in the exergue in small letters "Muntsproeve"; Mint-marks—a ram's head and a lion separated by the horn below the tree. Diameter approximately one and three-sixteenth inches. (W. V. Royle Baldwin, also J. Bennett.) [Fig. 15.]



FIGS. 16, 17.

No. 18. A Penny in copper or bronze (see Arndt's *Banking and Currency Development in South Africa*).
Obverse: Centrally on a shield the arms of the O.F.S.



FIGS. 18, 19.

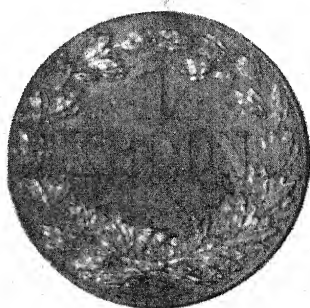


FIG. 20.

and below a streamer with the motto "Geduld en Moed" ("Patience and courage"); divided by the shield a palm and laurel branch; at opposite horizontal

diameters two five-pointed stars; above "Oranje Vryjstaat", and in the exergue the date (1888). Diameter, one and three-sixteenth inches; plain edge. Note.—The arms on the shield comprise, within a circle, a central tree dividing sheep and a lion. Below: a trek wagon and, without the circle, three hunting horns. Reverse: "1 Penny" within a conventional oak and laurel wreath and in the exergue the small letter "v". (W. V. Royle Baldwin and Bloemfontein National Museum) [Fig. 16.]

Another—similar design and date but in nickel or white metal. (W. V. Royle Baldwin.) [Fig. 17.]

No. 19. A Penny in nickel or white metal. Obverse: On a shield a flat-topped tree with three hunting horns—one on either side and one beneath it; below the shield the motto "Geduld en Moed" on a streamer; divided by the shield a palm and laurel branch and at opposite horizontal diameters two five-pointed stars. Above, "Oranje Vryjstaat" and in the exergue the date "1888". Reverse: Within a conventional laurel wreath "1 Penny" and below the marks of value "— L L G —"; in the exergue a small "v"; diameter one and three-sixteenth inches. (W. V. Royle Baldwin.) [Fig. 18.]

Another piece—similar except that below the marks of value on the reverse the two horizontal lines are divided by a dot only, thus "— . —"; the wreath is formed of oak as well as laurel leaves. (W. V. Royle Baldwin.) [Fig. 19.]

No. 20. A Crown Piece (in silver); diameter 1.52 inches. Obverse as no. 19 with date—"1887". Reverse: " 1 " within a laurel wreath. (W. V. Royle Baldwin.) [Fig. 20.]

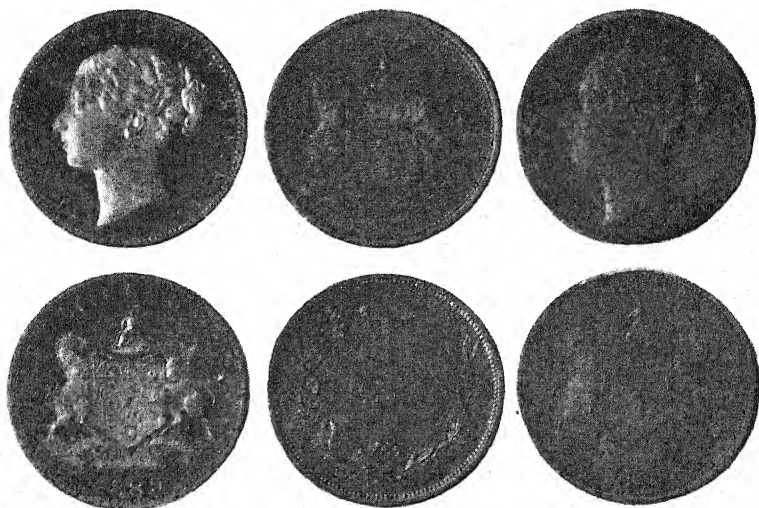
Note.—This piece shows signs of certain markings on the reverse side having been removed.

No. 21. A Crown in lead; wt. 554.45 grs.; date 1887. Obverse and reverse design as no. 20.

No. 22. A Penny in aluminium. Date 1888. Obverse and reverse as no. 18. (A. S. Rogers.)

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—PATTERNS.

No. 23. A Penny (or half-crown) in silver. One and three-sixteenth inches in diameter. Obverse: Young uncrowned head of Queen Victoria and legend as for no. 26. Reverse: The arms of Cape Colony and the date 1889; no marks of value. (W. V. Royle Baldwin.) [Fig. 21.]



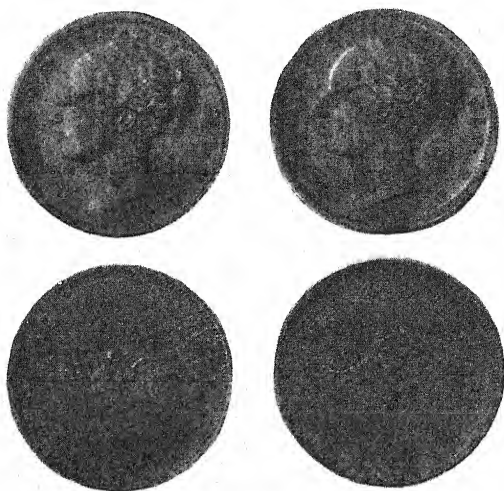
FIGS. 21, 22, 23.

No. 24. A Penny in nickel; date 1889. Obverse: Arms of Cape Colony. Reverse: Similar to no. 19 b. (W. V. Royle Baldwin and J. Bennett.) Another—similar design but in aluminium. (A. S. Rogers.) [Fig. 22.]

No. 25. A Penny in copper or bronze; date 1889. Obverse: Young uncrowned head of Queen Victoria and legend as for no. 26. Reverse: Similar to the reverse of no. 23. (W. V. Royle Baldwin, J. Bennett, and A. S. Rogers.) [Fig. 23.]

GRIQUA TOWN—PATTERNS.

No. 26. A Penny in copper or bronze, dated 1890 on the reverse. Diameter one and an eighth inches. Obverse: Young uncrowned head of Queen Victoria and "Victoria D:G. Britanniar: Reg. F.D.". Reverse: "Griqua Town" and a flying dove somewhat similar to that on the old "Missionary Coins". (W. V. Royle Baldwin.) [Fig. 24.]



FIGS. 24, 25.

No. 27. A penny in copper or bronze. Similar to no. 26, except that the head on the obverse is slightly different and no date is given. [Fig. 25.]

ZUID AFRIKAANSCH E REPUBLIEK—PROOF COINS
OR MODELS.

No. 28. Half-crown, 1892. Plain edge and in copper. (W. V. Royle Baldwin.)

No. 29. Sixpence, 1897. Plain edge and in copper on very thick flan (piedfort). (W. V. Royle Baldwin.)

No. 30. Half-crown, 1894. Struck in gold (see notes above on "Medals, &c." [p. 187]).

No. 31. Threepence, Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek, 1894. Struck in gold (see notes above on "Medals, &c." [p. 187]).

It is hoped that the above will form a useful reference schedule. It is not claimed to be complete or final, but as opportunity offers further records will be taken and the information supplemented. The pattern pieces in the list belong to various owners, and their names are given where possible at the end of each description. Mr. A. S. Rogers has very kindly supplied the information in regard to a number of the items. It appears practically certain that the 1874 series (2 to 14 and 17) were made by the same firm in view of the similarity of workmanship displayed. The Burgers patterns differ in various degrees from the original Burgers pond (see notes on "die differences" on pp. 202 ff.). This makes it certain that they were not made by Messrs. Ralph Heaton, the manufacturers of the Burgers "Ponde". The later patterns (1887-1890) referred to show complete similarity of workmanship to the 1874 series. It is interesting to note that a "double-shaft" wagon appears on no. 15 in 1890. This indicates the probability that the Kruger "double-shaft" coins were made two years later (but in the Berlin Mint) from the same models or sketches. The use of the word "Muntsproeve" ("trial piece") on certain of the patterns points to their being of German origin.

In reference to nos. 28 and 29, it should be noted that close examination shows them to have been struck with dies which differed, in minute details only, from the dies which were used for the production of the ordinary Z.A.R. currency. Figs. 13 and 14 show eleven of the pattern pieces noted above.

COIN PRODUCED FOR THE LATE ZUID AFRIKAANSCH
REPUBLIC—1892 TO 1900.

The table on p. 214 contains all information in regard to the quantity of coin produced for the Z.A.R., that it has been possible to collect. As far as can be ascertained it is a complete statement.

An interesting factor in connexion with the table is that the Berlin Mint report (see *Annual Reports of the Deputy-Master and Comptroller of the Royal Mint, London, for 1891 and 1892*) states that "Z.A.R. ponde" were struck in 1891, and that the "half-ponde" and all the silver and bronze coins made in the Berlin Mint for the late Z.A.R. were struck in 1892. The above "ponde" were, however, undoubtedly struck with 1892 dies. The Pretoria Mint, it will be noted, coined florins and shillings, only, in 1892. Judging from Mint experience this can be accepted as reasonable, as the Mint in Pretoria in 1892 (its first year of working) would be most likely to concentrate on producing silver coins in preference to starting on a gold coinage. This would enable the plant to be tested and "run in" on work which was not required to be so meticulously accurate as is the work of producing and turning gold bars into coin. The first gold coins struck in Pretoria were, therefore, produced in 1893. It seems certain also that all the "ponde", "half-ponde", and five-shilling pieces struck in Berlin were "double-shafts". The first single-shaft pieces (replacing the "double-shaft" pieces) would appear to have been struck in Pretoria, thus:

"Ponde": Struck in the year 1893, with 1892 dies.

"Half-ponde": Struck in the year 1894, with 1893 dies.

"Five shillings": Struck in the year 1893 with 1892 dies.

Reading the above notes in conjunction with the Table on p. 214 it will be seen that coins of the following denominations and bearing the dates indicated were struck:

(a) Pounds, 1892 to 1898 (inclusive) and 1900	Pretoria
Pounds (double-shafts), 1892	Berlin
(b) Half-pounds, 1893 to 1897 (inclusive)	Pretoria
Half-pounds (double-shafts), 1892	Berlin
(c) Crowns, 1892	Pretoria
Crowns (double-shafts), 1892	Berlin
(d) 2½ shillings, 1892 to 1897 (inclusive)	Pretoria*
(e) 2 shillings, 1892 to 1897 (inclusive)	Pretoria*
(f) 1 shilling, 1892 to 1897 (inclusive)	Pretoria*
(g) 6 pence, 1892 to 1897 (inclusive)	Pretoria*
(h) 3 pence, 1892 to 1897 (inclusive)	Pretoria*
(i) 1 penny, 1892 to 1894 (inclusive) and 1898	Pretoria*

* Except for small coinage dated 1892, minted in Berlin.

It should be noted, also, that the 1892 series includes some special sets of specimen coins which were struck in Berlin, with polished dies and from polished blanks, for all denominations except, I believe, the penny. Of interest also is the fact that the 1893 Z.A.R. penny is the rarest of the penny series, although more pieces were coined in that year than any other. This points to the probability that most of the pence struck in 1893 were struck with 1892 dies.

CONCLUSION.

I desire to thank Mr. W. V. Royle Baldwin for his assistance in placing full information concerning his

COIN PRODUCED FOR THE ZUID AFRIKAANSCH REPUBLIEK FROM 1892-1900.

DATE, DENOMINATION, AND VALUE MINTED.											TOTALS.		
Pond £	Half- Pond £	5s. £	2s. 6d. £	2s. £	1s. £	6d. £	3d. £	1d. £	Gold £	Silver. £	Bronze £		
1892	15,650 ¹	5,075 ¹	2,057	5,520	6,482	707	304	116	20,725 ¹	16,132 ²	116 ¹		
1893	61,926	nil	16,850	10,695	6,873	2,389	1,693	228	61,926	42,000	228		
1894	317,723	19,593	16,876	17,324	18,300	4,200	1,300	45	337,316	58,000	45		
1895	336,000	67,487	22,792	14,961	16,369	4,466	1,412	nil	403,487	60,000	nil		
1896	235,000	51,800	35,595	35,348	21,839	5,137	2,081	nil	286,800	100,000	nil		
1897	310,980	37,537	18,646	14,750	16,865	7,860	2,507	nil	348,517	60,628	nil		
1898	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	1,019	nil	nil	1,019		
1899	137,000 ⁴	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	137,000 ⁵	nil	nil		
1900	810,000	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	810,000 ⁶	nil	nil		

¹ Minted in Berlin.² Of this total £10,291 was minted in Berlin, viz.—5s., £1,082; 2s. 6d., £2,037; 2s., £2,080; 1s., £4,015; 6d., £707; 3d., £304.³ Less £8,000, remelted into shillings.⁵ Of this total £22,000 was taken by the State Attorney on the 4th of June 1900 on behalf of the Z.A.R. Government and, in addition, £50,792 in bar gold, £58,459 in "Mint" gold, and £19,308 in fine gold.⁶ Amount minted by the Government, who provided the total cost.

very complete collection of South African coins and tokens at my disposal. Acknowledgements are due also to those correspondents and others who have so willingly supplied information in regard to the numerous details that have been investigated. The above paper was presented originally to the South African National Society, Pretoria Branch, on 26th October, 1933. The present revised notes were completed in July 1934.

J. T. BECKLAKE.

MISCELLANEA.

THE SWABY HOARD.

On the 27th of June, 1934, a wagoner, named Alfred Burton of South Ormsby, rolling a field after ploughing in the parish of Swaby, 8 miles south of Louth, Lincolnshire, found a hoard of Roman silver coins at the bottom of an earthenware jar, broken in two. The coins, 178 in number, were duly handed over to the police, found by the Jury, at an inquest held by Mr. Philip Allison, Coroner for the County District, to be Treasure Trove, and sent up to the British Museum for examination.

The coins, all denarii, were distributed over rulers as follows:

Mark Antony (legionary).	.	.	.	6
Nero . . . . .	.	.	.	3
Galba . . . . .	.	.	.	1
Vitellius . . . . .	.	.	.	4
Vespasian . . . . .	.	.	.	27
Titus . . . . .	.	.	.	11
Domitian . . . . .	.	.	.	32
Nerva . . . . .	.	.	.	5
Trajan . . . . .	.	.	.	48
Hadrian . . . . .	.	.	.	34
Sabina . . . . .	.	.	.	5
L. Aelius Caesar . . . . .	.	.	.	2
				<hr/> 178

The following were the coins included:

Mark Antony 6 Legionary denarii—C. 28,¹ 32, 33, 39,
47 (2). Worn—much worn.

Nero 3 C. 119 (2), 335. Worn.

Galba 1 C. 83. Worn.

¹ References are to Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, &c., vols. i and ii (1880, 1882), and Mattingly & Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vols. i, ii (1923, 1926).

- Vitellius 4 C. 18, 72 (2), 119. Slightly worn—worn.
- Vespasian 27 C. 28, 30, 74, 120, 125 (2), 144, 213, 214, 216, 222, 226, 229, 276, 364 (2), 366 (4), 367, 368, 498 (2), 561, 574. M.S. II, p.16, no.10. Slightly worn—worn.
- Titus 11 C. 17, 161 (var. obv. VESP., not VESPASIAN), 303, 313, 316 (2), 318, 321 (2), 334, and an unpublished variety.
- Obv.* IMP•T•CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG•, head, laureate, r.
- Rev.* ANNONA AVG•, Annona seated l., holding bundle of corn-ears. Slightly worn—much worn.
- Domitian 32 C. 60, 77, 186, 215, 242 (Var.—rev. Minerva on prow), 247 (2), 251, 256, 261, 262, 265, 271, 279 (2), 280 (3), 281 (2), 282, 283, 284, 289, 378, 393, 399 (var.—obv. DIVI F•, not AVG• F•), 560, 595 (2), 664 and an unpublished hybrid, with reverse of Hadrian.
- Obv.* IMP•CAES•DOMIT•AVG•GERM•P•M•TR•P• XIII, head, laureate, r.
- Rev.* P•M•TR•P•COS•III SAL•AVG•, Salus seated l., feeding, out of *patera*, snake coiled round altar. Slightly worn—nearly fresh.
- Nerva 5 C. 20, 66 (2), 81, 113. Slightly worn.
- Trajan 48 C. 9, 26, (rev. camel, not ostrich), 63, 68 (2), 69, 75 (2—obv. drapery on l. shoulder,—on rev. of one, Victory draped), 76, 81 (2), 83, 85 (but *At*) (2), 85 (var. *AR*, obv. head, laureate, r.), 86, 87, 89 (var.—obv. laureate l., with drapery on l. shoulder), 103, 150 (var —laureate, with aegis r., chest bare), 152, 193, 199, 213 (2—var. obv. head, laureate, r.) 228, 238, 240, 272, 274 (2), 276, 278, 280, 301, 302, 315,

394, 398 (2), 402 (2), 404, 417, 423 (but *AR*), 497, 537, 558 (var.—obv. aegis on l. shoulder). Slightly worn—nearly fresh.

Hadrian 34 C. 80 (var.—obv., laureate, draped, r.), 84 (var.—obv. bare, r.), 128, 252, 315, 335, 361 (var.—rev. globe), 363 (2), 374, 381, 389, 600, 600 (var.—obv. laureate, draped, r.), 903, 927, 963, 1011, 1027, 1072, 1099, 1116, 1119 (2), 1120, 1131, 1140 (2), 1143, 1147, 1155 (2), 1331, 1449. Slightly worn—nearly fresh.

Sabina 5 C. 3 (var.—obv. diademed, draped r.), 12, 24, 43 (2). Slightly worn—nearly fresh.

L. Aelius Caesar 2 C. 11 (but *AR*), 36. Fresh.

The hoard is one of a well-defined class,² including worn specimens of the base legionary denarii of Mark Antony, but excluding the fine denarii of Augustus to early Nero, before the reduction of weight at his reform. From Nero onwards every reign but that of Otho is represented, with that of Trajan definitely predominant. The presence of two coins of L. Aelius Caesar in fresh condition, taken with the absence of any coins of Antoninus Pius, enables us to date the deposit to the year A.D. 137—early 138 at latest. There is a marked increase in the general wear of the coins, as we go back towards its start, but, as often in hoards, the correspondence between age and wear is far from perfect. Here, for instance, we can select denarii of Domitian that show no more wear than many of the denarii of Hadrian. Is this to be accounted for on the theory that our hoard contains several distinct strata of deposit? Or are we rather to admit that the life of Roman denarii was a long one and that differing degrees of wear in the older coins are due to shorter or longer periods of withdrawal from general circulation? The hybrid of Domitian and Hadrian in this hoard would in itself strongly suggest that coins of

² Cp. for example Mallerstang Hoard, *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society's Transactions*, vol. xxvii, pp. 205 ff.; and a small find at Birdoswald.

Domitian were still familiar in use as late as c. A.D. 120, the date of the reverse of Hadrian in question. The whole question has been brought to new life by Sir George Macdonald's report on the Stirling Hoard;³ it might well repay a close special study.

THE CHALFONT ST. GILES HOARD.

On March 26, 1934, 40 silver and 12 *aes* coins were found with an urn in a field in Narcot Lane, belonging to Mr. Edward James Kirby, Chalfont St. Giles. The silver coins were declared by the Coroner's Jury to be Treasure Trove and were sent to the British Museum for examination. By the kindness of the owner we are enabled to give a report on the *aes* coins too.

The silver coins were all denarii, the *aes* sestertii, and were distributed over reigns as follows:

	Æ	Æ
Vespasian	1	—
Titus	1	—
Julia Titi	1	—
Domitian	1	1
Trajan	19	7
Hadrian	12	4
Antoninus Pius	1	—
Faustina I	3	—
Faustina II	1	—
	40	12

The coins were distributed over reigns as follows:

Vespasian	1 Æ	C. 121	Much worn
Titus	1 Æ	C. 106	Much worn.
Julia Titi	1 Æ	C. 16	Much worn.
Domitian	1 Æ	C. 244	Slightly worn.
	1 Æ	Uncertain.	Much worn.
Trajan	19 Æ	C. 83 (2), 87, 121, 154, 154 (var. obv. laureate, draped, cuirassed, r.). 222, 227, 228, 234, 240, 247 (2). 276, 294, 315, 394, 423 (but denarius). 537.	Worn—slightly worn.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 1 ff.

Trajan (<i>contd.</i>)	7 Æ	C. 157 (2), 459, 469 and 3 uncertain. Much worn.
Hadrian	12 Æ	C. 172 (var., obv., head, laureate, r. with drapery on l. shoulder), 218 (var. bust, draped, head, bare, r.), 328, 332, 358, 775 (var., obv. head, bare, r.), 869, 1098 (var., obv., no cuirass), 1120, 1131, 1309, 1438. Slightly worn.
	4 Æ	C. 343, 725, 946, 1067. Slightly worn—worn.
Antoninus Pius	1 Æ	C. 490. Slightly worn.
Faustina I	3 Æ	C. 26 (2), 93 (var.—rev. two corn-ears). Slightly worn.
Faustina II	1 Æ	C. 176. Slightly worn.

The latest coins are those of Antoninus Pius, *c.* A.D. 145-146, and Faustina II, struck under the reign of Antoninus, but perhaps a little later than 146. It will be seen that this little hoard essentially belongs to the reign of Trajan and Hadrian, with a few outlying coins at both ends. The degree of wear varies fairly well in accordance with the dates of the coins. It is noteworthy that the *aes* is much more worn than the silver and that the best of the silver shows definite traces of wear. The date of deposit cannot very well be earlier than about A.D. 150 at earliest. The scarcity of issues from *c.* A.D. 136-150 remains surprising.

The chief interest of the hoard is the presence of silver and *aes* together—a comparatively rare feature. Similar examples of such mixed hoards are Babworth, Notts (29 Æ, 62 Æ, Nero—Marcus Aurelius);¹ Castlethorpe, Bucks., (20 Æ, 25 Æ, Nero—L. Verus);² Caistor, Norfolk (*c.* 300 Æ and Æ, Mark Antony—Faustina II);³ and Corbridge, Northumberland (31 Æ, 12 Æ, Republic—Trajan).⁴

H. MATTINGLY.

¹ *Victoria County History*, ii, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³ *Archaeologia*, 1814 (20), pp. 578 f.

⁴ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xii (3rd Series), pp. 250 ff.

SITE-FINDS FROM DUSTON, NORTHANTS.

Through the kindness of Mr. W. C. Wells we are able to make the following additions to the numismatic history of an interesting Midland site :

	1 W. C. Wells	2 <i>Northampton Museum</i> (formerly W. C. Wells)	TOTALS A ¹ A ¹ A ¹ A ¹		
Claudius I	3 MB ²	3 MB	—	6	
Nero	—	2 MB	—	2	
Vespasian	1 MB	1 GB 3 MB	—	5	
Domitian	2 MB	3 A 3 MB	3	5	
Nerva	—	3 A	3	—	
Trajan	1 GB 1 MB	3 GB		5	
Hadrian	1 PB	2 GB, 4 MB		7	
Antoninus Pius	3 A, 1 GB 3 MB ³	2 A 2 GB	5	6	
Marcus Aurelius	3 GB	1 GB 2 MB		6	
L. Verus	—	1 GB		1	
Commodus	1 A	4 GB	1	4	
Didius Julianus	1 A ⁴	—	1		
Clodius Albinus	1 GB	—	—	1	
Septimius Severus	2 A ⁵	1 A	3		
Geta	1 A	1 MB	1	1	
Elagabalus	1 A	2 A	3	—	
Severus Alexander	—	2 A, 1 GB	2	1	
Philip I	1 B	—	1 B	—	
Volusian	1 B	—	1 B	—	
Valerian I	1 B	—	1 B	—	
Gallienus	9 B	8 B		17 B	
Claudius II	16 B	5 B		21 B	
Quintillus	2 B	3 B		5 B	
Postumus	2 B	4 B		6 B	
Marius	1 B	—		1 B	
Victorinus	1 B	5 B		6 B	
Tetricus I	5 B	2 B		7 B	
Tetricus II	3 B	5 B		8 B	

¹ The coins of base silver and billon are included in the A¹ column.

² One barbarous As of "Minerva" reverse.

³ One As of Faustina I is barbarous.

⁴ A denarius of Didia Clara.

⁵ One is base.

		Brought forward	96	50
Radiates	12 B	—	12 B	
(barbarous)				
Aurelian	1 B	—	1 B	
Tacitus	—	1 B	1 B	
Diocletian	1 MB	3 MB		4
Maximian	1 B	1 MB	1 B	1
Carausius	11 B ⁶	5 B	16 B	—
Allectus	4 B	4 B	8 B	
Constantius I	—	1 MB	—	1
Galerius	1 MB	—	—	1
Severus	—	1 MB	—	1
Licinius I	2 Æ	3 Æ	—	5
Constantine I	57 Æ ⁷	39 Æ	—	96
"	3 Æ	—	—	3
(reign of) ⁸				
Constantine II	18 Æ	—	—	18
Constantius II	13 Æ	10 Æ	—	23
Constans	15 Æ	8 Æ	—	23
Constantius II	2 Æ	—	—	2
or Constans ⁹				
Magnentius ¹⁰	6 Æ	4 Æ	—	10
Constantius	—	5 Æ	—	5
Gallus				
Julian II	—	2 Æ	2	—
Valentinian I	8 Æ	4 Æ	1 —	12
Valens	1 Æ 8 Æ	5 Æ	1	13
(miliarensis)				
Gratian	6 Æ	6 Æ	—	12
Theodosius I	—	1 Æ	1	—
Arcadius	1 Æ	—	—	1
Honorius	—	1 Æ 1 Æ	1	1
Theodosian	1	15	—	16
(? minimi)				
			1 140 298	

In the Northampton Museum there are also included several broken coin-moulds. H. MATTINGLY.

⁶ Two or three of these are semi-barbarous.

⁷ Including two barbarous, VRBS ROMA, She-wolf and twins.

⁸ Late "GLORIA EXERCITVS" type—2 barbarous, 1 brockage.

⁹ Reverse, FEL·TEMP·REPARATIO, warrior spearing horseman: both barbarous, one overstruck.

¹⁰ Including 2 barbarous.

ROMAN SITE-FINDS FROM BITTERNE.

The following Roman coins have been found in and about Bitterne Manor House, Bitterne, near Southampton, and, by kind permission of the owner, Miss MacNaghten, have been examined and classified at the British Museum.

All are of *Aes*, unless specially noted.

Augustus	1	} 2
	1 <i>Æ</i>	
Claudius I		26 ¹
„ (barbarous)		2
Nero		7
„ (barbarous)		1
Vespasian	15	} 16
	1 <i>Æ</i>	
	(base)	
Titus		4
Domitian		12
Trajan		12
Hadrian		9
Antoninus Pius		4
Faustina I		1 <i>Æ</i>
Marcus Aurelius		3
Uncertain—first and second century		9
Elagabalus		1 <i>Æ</i> (base)
Severus Alexander		1 <i>Æ</i> (base)
Philip I		1 <i>Æ</i>
Gallienus		9 (billon) ²
Claudius II		14 „
Postumus		1 „
Victorinus		3 „
Tetricus I		54 „ ³
„ (barbarous)		12 „
Tetricus II		8 „
„ (barbarous)		1 „
Tetricus I or II (minimi)		2 „

¹ Some of these are very worn and are perhaps to be classed as barbarous.

² The metal has nominally some silver content, but is barely to be distinguished from *Aes*.

³ Including some uncertain radiate heads, some perhaps to be classed as barbarous.

	Brought forward	215	
Probus		1	(billion)
Carausius		18	" ⁴
Allectus		5	" ⁴
Constantine I		13	
Crispus		1	
Constantine II		5	
Helena		2	
Urbs Roma		4	
Constantinopolis		8	
Uncertain—age of Constantine I		10	
Constantine II	5		
	1 \mathcal{R}	6	
Constans		7	
Constantius II or Constans		5	
Magnentius (or Decentius)		6	
Julian II		1	\mathcal{R}
Valentinian I		3	
Valens		6	
Gratian		2	
Uncertain—age of Valentinian I		18	
Theodosius I		1	
Arcadius		2	
Honorius		1	
Uncertain—age of Theodosius I		33 ⁵	
Uncertain Roman		9	
	Total	382	

One uninscribed British copper coin (Evans G. 5. 6) was found: also one uncertain copper, Gallic or British, with *obv.* head l., *rev.* horse l. H. M.

⁴ In view of the possibility that Clausentum (Bitterne) was the C mint of Carausius and Allectus, these coins have been carefully examined for mintage. Unfortunately only a few mint-marks were preserved. The number of relatively certain attributions is: London (L),—Carausius (6), Allectus (2); C mint, Carausius (2), Allectus (-). This evidence is slight, but, as far as it goes, does not help the Clausentum hypothesis.

⁵ The reverses are mainly of VICTORIA AVGGG.; few of SALVS REIPVBLICAE were noted.

FINDS FROM GREAT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX.

The following coins from Great Chesterford, now in Saffron Walden Museum, have recently, by the courtesy of Mr. Hubert Collar, the Curator, been examined at the British Museum.

They are as follows:¹

GALLIC:

Senones (Tin)	1
-----------------------	---

BRITISH:

Tasciovanus	1
Cunobelinus	1
	<u>2</u>

ROMAN:

Claudius I	4
„ (barbarous)	1
Vespasian	1
Titus	1
Domitian	2
Trajan	3
Hadrian	6
Antoninus Pius	5
Faustina I	1
Marcus Aurelius	1
Faustina II	1
Caracalla	1
Balbinus	1
Valerian I	2 (billon) ²
Gallienus	6 „
„ (barbarous?)	1 „
Claudius II	12 „
Quintillus	3 „
Postumus	2 „
Victorinus	2 „

¹ All these coins are of base metal, unless otherwise noted.

² These "billon" coins are, as a rule, barely distinguishable from *Aes*.

	Brought forward	56
Tetricus I		38 (billon)
„ (barbarous)		14 „
Tetricus II		3
„ (barbarous)		2
Aurelian		1
Carausius		5
Diocletian		1
Maximian?		1
Constantine I.		4
Crispus		3
Constantine II		4
Helena		4
Theodora		2
Urbs Roma		8
Constantinopolis		7
Late Constantinian, <i>rev.</i> GLORIA		
EXERCITVS		19
Constantius II		7
Constans		8
Constantius II or Constans		
<i>rev.</i> Two Victories		14
<i>rev.</i> FEL.TEMP.REPARATIO		
Warrior spearing Horseman		8
„ „ (barbarous)		22
Magnentius (barbarous)		1
Uncertain c. A.D. 250-360		4
Valentinian I.		7
Valens		13
Gratian		15
Uncertain—age of Valentinian I		31
Theodosius I.		9
Valentinian II		8
Arcadius		12
Honorius		5
Magnus Maximus		4
Eugenius		1
Age of Theodosius		
<i>rev.</i> SALVS REIPVBLICAE		16
<i>rev.</i> VICTORIA AVGGG		
Two Victories		7
<i>rev.</i> VICTORIA AVGGG		
One Victory		31
<i>rev.</i> „ „ (barbarous)		1
Uncertain <i>rev.</i>		79

Brought forward 475

Age of sons of Theodosius

rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM .

Three Emperors . . . 1

Uncertain Roman . . . 12

Total 488

The one coin of Aurelian is an unpublished variety.

Obv. [IMP C L DOM?] AVRELIANVS AVG., bust,
radiate, draped, cuirassed, r.*Rev.* CONSECRATIO, Altar.

The following 90 coins, which are kept separately and all show similar patination, almost certainly represent a hoard. They are as follows:

Postumus	1	C. 144 (1). ³
Victorinus	4	C. 101 (1), 112 (2), 118 (1).
Tetricus I	81	C. 17 (2), 37 (4), 54 (8 + 1 barbarous), 71 (4), 75 (7 + 3 barbarous), 95 or 99 (25), 153 or 4 (7 + 1 barbarous variation of <i>rev.</i>), 160 (2), 170 (2), 185 (5), 207 (5). Uncertain reverses 3. Uncertain reverses 2—barbarous.
Tetricus II	3	C. 5 (1), 88 (2).
	<u>89</u>	
Uncertain fourth century	1.	

This little hoard is a deposit of the reign of Tetricus I, c. A.D. 270-273: the one fourth-century coin is presumably a chance intruder. There are no coins of the central Empire, no barbarous imitations. The quality of the metal is consistently bad and no traces of silvering remain. H. M.

³ References are, as usual, to the second edition of Cohen.

A NEW STERLING OF NAMUR.



FIGS. 1, 2.

An unrecorded sterling of Guillaume I, Count of Namur (1337-91), has recently been found in the course of excavations at Clarendon Park, Salisbury, and I am indebted to the owner, Mrs. Christie-Miller, and to the excavator, Prof. Borenius, for permission to publish it here. The coin is a close imitation of the florin type of Edward III, but with the legends **GVILHELMVSCOMES** on the obverse, **MONETA VET VILLE** on the reverse: it weighs 14.9 grm. (fig. 1). The half of this penny, with exactly the same types and legends, was already in the British Museum Collection (fig. 2, 9.2 grm.). The mint is Viesville, a suburb of Namur. Guillaume's coinage includes imitations of the florin type struck at Namur, and sterlings with other types at Viesville, but no imitation of the florin type at Viesville is recorded either by Chautard (*Imitations des monn. au type esterlin*) or Renier Chalon (*Recherches sur les monn. des Comtes de Namur*). As these two coins are direct imitations and their originals ceased to be struck in 1350, they are presumably the earliest of Guillaume's issues at this mint.

E. S. G. R.

XV.

INDIAN COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[SEE PLATE III.]

THE following is an account of some of the more important Indian coins acquired by the British Museum since the publication of my last paper with the same title.¹ Most of the more notable coins of the Moghul Emperors acquired in this period have been described by Mr. Whitehead in his papers on "Some Notable Coins of the Moghul Emperors"² and on "The Portrait Medals and Zodiacal Coins of Jahangir".³ In his paper entitled "Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics"⁴ Mr. Whitehead included the unpublished acquisitions of the Museum in the Bactrian and Indo-Greek-series.

INDO-GREEK.

Agathocles.

Obv. Bust of Demetrius to r. wearing head-dress in the form of an elephant's head. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ

Rev. Hercules standing facing, holding club and lion's skin in l. arm and crowning himself with his r. hand. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ
ΥΟΝΤΟΣ Mon on l.

Æ 1.3. Wt. 249.3. [Pl. III. 1.]

¹ *Num. Chron.* 1924, pp. 96-110.

² *Ibid.* 1923, pp. 115 ff., Pl. VI-VIII; 1926, pp. 381 ff., Pl. XXIII-XXV.

³ *Ibid.* 1929, pp. 1 ff., Pl. I; 1930, pp. 91 ff., Pl. XIV-XV.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1923, pp. 294 ff., Pl. XIV-XVII.

This tetradrachm adds another to the series issued by Agathocles with portraits of his predecessors. These previously known bear portraits and types of "Alexander son of Philip", "Antiochus (II) the Conqueror", "Diodotos the Saviour", "Euthydemus the God". Like these, this specimen has the name and obverse type of the predecessor on the obverse, with an epithet replacing the **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** of the original, Demetrius being described as "unconquered". The reverse bears the usual legend of these commemorative pieces "(struck) in the reign of Agathocles the Just". The epithet **ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ** does not occur on the Bactrian coins, but is found on the unique bilingual didrachm or Indian tetradrachm of Demetrius in the British Museum⁵ and on the square bilingual copper coins with obverse head wearing elephant head-dress as on the Greek tetradrachms. Since Agathocles adopts the type of the latter for his commemorative pieces, and takes the epithet from the former, it is evident, in spite of the striking difference in the portraiture, that the Demetrius of both series is the same and that the bilingual pieces were struck for the territory he conquered in India.⁶ Sir George Macdonald has shown that the rarer series bearing the name of Demetrius with *rev.* Athene should be attributed to a later Demetrius (II). In view of the marked difference in portraiture on the Bactrian and Indian coins with the name of Demetrius, we may call attention to the striking resemblance of the portrait on the bilingual didrachm of Demetrius to that of Agathocles, who

⁵ Whitehead, *Ibid.* 1923, Pl. XIV. 2.

⁶ *C.H.I.* vol. i, p. 448.

were no doubt father and son. As Cunningham⁷ long ago suggested that Demetrius conducted his Indian campaign during his father's lifetime, it may be pointed out that the bilingual coins bear a much earlier portrait than the Bactrian silver pieces which could not have been struck before he succeeded his father in Bactria while the former might have been. Agathocles much resembled what his father had been at the same age.

The epithet **ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ** is worth noting. According to Liddell and Scott, the use of the word is almost entirely confined to poetry. One of the references given, however, is to Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, ch. xiv (not an ordinary prose context). When the priestess of the Oracle at Delphi refused to prophesy for him before the expedition to Asia on an unlawful day, the young Alexander went to insist and to drag her out. She said *Ἀνίκητος εἶ, ὃ παῖ*. This story is probably much older than Plutarch and was apparently known to Demetrius who chose this epithet in allusion to Alexander whom he regarded as the founder of his dynasty. The epithet is also used by Artemidorus, Lysias, and Philoxenus but seems unknown to other series of coins.

Apollodotos.

Through the kindness of Mr. T. Copeland, C.I.E., the British Museum now possesses a specimen of the rare variety of the bronze coinage of Apollodotos first published by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* 1870, p. 70, n. 12, Pl. X. 12) from the Clive-Bayley specimen.

⁷ *Num. Chron.* 1869, p. 145.

Obv. Apollo seated r. holding bow in l. hand. **ΒΑΣΙ
ΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ**

Rev. Tripod; *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa*. Kharoṣṭhi monogram in field.

Æ .9. Wt. 108.

KUSHAN.

Vima-Kadphises.

Obv. Kadphises seated facing with head to r. on a throne upon an elephant which is walking to l.; he holds a sceptre on his shoulder. Mon. on r. Around: **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ
ΟΟΗΜΟΚΑΔΦ(ΙΧΗC)**

Rev. Śiva standing facing in front of bull to r., holding trident in r. hand and leaning l. on bull's horn; symbol in l. Kharoṣṭhi legend: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvalogaisvarasa mahisvarasa Vima-Kaṭhphisa tratarasa*.

Δ .8. Wt. 119.

The obverse type of this new stater of Vima-Kadphises may be taken to refer to his conquest of India. The elephant is very well executed, but the absence of a driver suggests that the artist was not very well acquainted with the method in which a king would ride upon an elephant. The close resemblance in style of this coin to the usual gold coins of Vima-Kadphises suggests that it came from the same mint. The reverse type is not found exactly on any other gold piece, but it is that of the larger copper coins. The obverse Greek legend is new to the gold series, being fuller than the usual one. It is again that of the large copper pieces and of the unique silver coin. It gives Kadphises

the additional title of "King of Kings" and "Great Saviour". (Cf. *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, p. 73.)

The British Museum now possesses three specimens of the copper coins, all of the large size, of Vima-Kadphises on which the Kharoṣṭhī legend of the reverse is replaced by a reel and pellet border (Cunningham, *N. C.* 1892, Pl. XV. 10; Whitehead, *Lahore Cat.* vol. i, p. 185, xiii).

Kanishka.

Obv. As B.M.C. no. 1.

Rev. Nanaia standing to l. holding horse-headed sceptre, on l. NANAIA Mon. on r.

A .75. Wt. 122.3. [Pl. III. 2.]

This Nanaia type in gold, formerly in the Sutcliffe Collection is still unique (cf. Whitehead, *Num. Chron.* 1923, Pl. XVII, 15).

Kidāra Kuskān.

Obv. King standing at altar, on l. *avan*. Under l. arm *Kidāra*.

Rev. Goddess seated facing on throne; on r. *Loṇavatya*.

A (base) .8. Wt. 122.8. [Pl. III. 3.]

GUPTA.

Samudragupta.

The Museum has recently acquired a finer specimen of the rare variety of the Lyryst type of this Emperor (Cat. no. 55, Pl. V. 81).

A .8. Wt. 121.5.

*Candragupta II.**Archer Type*, Class II, var. ϵ .

Obv. King standing dressed as on var. γ but head l., holding bow in outstretched r. hand and arrow in l. behind him. *Candra* on l. between king's body and bowstring. Around *Deva-Srī*[] *rājādhirāja-Srī*[] *draguptaḥ*.

Rev. As var. λ . (*B.M.C.* no. 100, Pl. VII. 18.)

A 75. Wt. 121.

Chattra Type, Class II.

The fine specimen of this coin illustrated in the *B.M. Cat. Gupta Coins*, Pl. VIII. 4, p. 35 has now been acquired by the Museum.

A 85. Wt. 120.5.

Lion-Slayer Type, Class I, var. β .

This variety was unrepresented in the Museum collection when the Catalogue was made, and was described from the Bodleian (now Ashmolean) specimen (*N. C.* 1891, Pl. II. 9). A specimen has now been acquired from the Sutcliffe collection which throws further light on the obverse legend. It reads on r.:

Narendracandraprathitar[a]n[]

This supplies the two akṣaras *r-n* missing from all hitherto known specimens of the type. We may safely read *raṇo* and the epithet for which *prathitayaśo* was suggested in the *Catalogue*, p. cxiii, p. 140—although it was pointed out that this hardly agrees with the traces of the missing letters—is really *prathitarāṇo* “of famous battles” and the whole legend is a Vamśa-sthavila couplet:

*Narendracandraḥ prathitarāṇo divaṁ
Jayatyajeyo bhuvi śiṅhavikramaḥ.*

A 75. *Wt.* 120.

Var. *ε*.

The Museum has acquired a specimen the obverse of which is that of var. *ζ*. the rev. that of var. *ε*.

A 8. *Wt.* 118.

Kumāragupta I.

Peacock Type.

A fine specimen, acquired since the Catalogue was published, may help in the ultimate elucidation of the obverse legend.

It reads:

Jayati svagunair gunarāśi [-----]
--- (mahe)ndrakumārah

Svabhūmau suggested in the *Catalogue* for the second word should be rejected for *svagunair*. Five syllables are still required to complete the legend. We may note that there seems to be a variety, not represented in the Museum, in which the initial *g* of *guṇa* is doubled after the *r* of *gunair*.

A 85. *Wt.* 128.5. [*Pl. III. 4.*]

EASTERN BENGAL.

Prithuvī[ra.]

Obv. Rude copy of Gupta Archer type. Standard on l. On l. *Śrī*, on l. below bow *Prthu/Vi(ra)*. Between feet *ja*.

Rev. Goddess standing r., &c., as *B.M.C.* no. 620 ff.

A (base) 9. *Wt.* 88.3. [*Pl. III. 5.*]

This seems to be first of the now well-known series to bear a ruler's name.

SULTANS OF DELHI.

Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

A.H. 718 = A.D. 1318.

Of the rare coins of this pretender to the throne of Delhi, the Museum now possesses another specimen like that described in the B.M. Cat. *Muḥammadan States*, p. 173, no. 510. Pl. XII, and a new variety with Nāgarī legend around the obverse. This coin continues this type a few years longer; the last ruler previously known to use it being 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Obv. In circle

سلطان الا

عظم شمش

الدنيا و الدين

Æ .65. Wt. 49.

Rev.

شاه

محمود

Around - - लतन समास - -

Mubārak Shāh.

A.H. 716-720 = A.D. 1316-1320.

Obv. As B.M. Cat. *Sultans of Delhi*, no. 206.

Rev. Within circle as B.M. no. 212.

Around - - - قطب اباد - - -

Kuṭṭabād. A 9. Wt. 168.8. [Pl. III. 6.]

A round gold coin of Mubārak appears to be new. The Museum possesses the corresponding silver coin (*Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 347).

Obv.

مبارك شاه

Rev.

السلطان بن السلطان

AR .45. Wt. 26. [Pl. III. 8.]

This is the only small silver coin known of Mubārak Shāh.

Gḥiyās al-Dīn Tughlaq.

A.H. 721-725 = A.D. 1321-1325.

Obv. As *B.M.C.* no. 238.

Rev. As *B.M.C.* no. 238, but margin

- - بدار الاسلام فى سنة اربع و عشر - -

Dār al-Islām. A.H. [72]4. *AV* 1.05. Wt. 170.

This adds one more to the gold mints of Tughlaq, the others being Deogīr, Dehli, Kutābād, and Mulk-i-Telang.

Muḥammad b. Tughlaq.

A.H. 725-752 = A.D. 1325-1351.

Obv. and *rev.* As *B.M.C.* no. 265, but date

اثننتين و اربعين و سبعمائة

A.H. 742. *AV* .75. Wt. 170.

Obv.

Rev.

محمد بن

السلطان

تغلشاه

الاعظم ذى الفتح

۷۲۷

و الا - -

A.H. 727. *AR* .45. Wt. 30.

This denomination of the good silver coins of Muḥammad seems to be unique. The coin comes from the Whitehead collection and has been described by Major Whittell in *J.A.S.B.* 1921, *Num. Suppl.*, xxxv, p. 137, no. 75, with the suggestion that it was issued in Ma'bar.

Obv. In cinquefoil

Rev. In cinquefoil

الامام

الله

امير المؤمنين

بامر احمد

الحاكم

ابو العباس

خلد خلافته

Bill. .75. Wt. 140.

This is the actual specimen of this very rare type described by Major Whittell *op. cit.* no 146 and since presented to the Museum by Mr. L. T. B. Horwood. The Museum has another specimen from the Bleazby collection.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان	ابو المظفر
السعيد الشهيد	تغلق شاه سلطان
الغازي غياث الدنيا	انار الله برهانه
و الدين	۷۳۲

A.H. 732. Bill. 75. Wt. 54.5.

This specimen of a very rare type struck in memory of Tughlak by his son, comes from the Whitehead collection, as do the two following rare specimens of the forced currency:

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
ضرب هذا	محمد بن تغلق
النصفي في زمن	بحضرة دولت
العبد الراجي	اباد سنة ثلثين
رحمة الله	و سيعماية

A half. Daulatabad. A.H. 730. Æ 8. Wt. 107.6.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
ضرب الربيعي	بحضرة
في زمن العبد محمد	دولت اباد سنة
بن تغلق	ثلثين و سيعماية

A quarter. Daulatabad. A.H. 730. Æ .6. Wt. 66.5.

A copper coin from the Whitehead collection may also be recorded here.

Obv.

بن
محمد

Rev.

تغلقشاه

Each inscription in double circle.

Æ .6. Wt. 51.

Firūz Shāh.

A.H. 752-790 = 1351-85 A.D.

Obv.

فیروز
شاه
سلطان

Rev.

دار الملك
دهلی

Dār al-Mulk. Æ 65. Wt. 140.

This copper coin from the Whitehead collection seems to be a new denomination. Its half, B.M.C. no. 374 ff. is more common.

Firūz Shāh b. Abū Bakr.

792 = 1387

Obv.

فیروز شاه
بن ابو بکر شاه
سلطان

Rev.

المومنین
نائب امیر
۷۹۲

A.H. 792. Bill. 75. Wt. 154.5. [Pl. III. 9.]

The Museum has in the last three years acquired three coins struck presumably by a son of Firūz Shāh III whose pretensions to the throne are otherwise unrecorded. Two are as above described. The third has the same obverse legend without سلطان in a hexagon and traces of a marginal legend:—خلدت خلافتہ خلیفہ. امیر المومنین.

Aḥmad b. Fīrūz.

A.H. 789 = 1384

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
سلطان	الخليفة ابو
(بن) فيروز شاه	عبد الله خلد
احمد شاه	خلافته
	۷۸۹

A.H. 789. Bill. 76. Wt. 150.5. [Pl. III. 7.]

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
احمد شا	بن فيروز
السلطان	السلطان

Æ 55. Wt. 65. [Pl. III. 8.]

These are coins of another unrecorded son of Fīrūz III.

Mu'izz al-Dīn Mubārak II.

A.H. 824-837 = 1421-33

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
انا فتحنا	في عهد السلطان
لك فتحنا	الغازي المتوكد
مبيننا	الرحمن مبارك شاه
(Kor. xlviii. 1.)	السلطان

Dehli. A.H. [--] 5. A. 75. Wt. 164. [Pl. III. 10.]

A gold tanka of this, and indeed of the preceding three reigns, was hitherto unknown.

BENGAL.

Saif al-Dīn Firūz Shāh.

A.H. 892-895 = A.D. 1486-1489.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لا اله الا	سيف الدنيا
الله محمد	و الدين ابو
رسول الله	المظفر فيروز شاه
خزانة ٨٩٣	السلطان خلد الله
	ملكه و سلطانه

Traces of marginal inscription.

Treasury. A.H. 893. *A* 1.1. Wt. 191. [Pl. III. 11.]

Alā al-Dīn Husain Shāh.

A.H. 899-925 = A.D. 1493-1518

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
حسين شاه سلطان	السلطان
بن سيد اشرف الحسين	العادل علا الدنيا
خلد ملكه خزانة ٩٠٤	و الدين ابو المظفر
Treasury. A.H. 904. <i>A</i> 90. Wt. 163. [Pl. III. 12.]	

KASHMĪR.

The unpublished gold coins of Kashmīr in the Museum were described by Mr. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* 1933, pp. 262-267.

'ĀDIL SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BĪJĀPUR.*Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh*

A.H. 941-965 = 1534-1558.

Obv.

In circle

ابو المظفر

عادلشاه

السلطان

Around ضرب هذه السكه سنة ثمان و اربعين و تسعمائة

Rev.

السلطان

ابراهيم شمس الدنيا و الدين

خلد ملكه

in octagon.

A.H. 948. *N* 1.1. Wt. 211. [Pl. III. 13.]

This adds another to the few Muhammadan gold coins of South India and is apparently the only known coin of this dynasty. I at first read the date as 748 and took it to be a coin of 'Ādil Shāh of Madura. The fact that a Madura gold coin of 766 is dated in numerals and the close resemblance of this coin to the Bengal gold of the early sixteenth century leave little doubt that the date is 948.

GOND DYNASTY OF GARHA MANDALA.

Samgrāma Shāhi Deva.

The following coin presented to the Museum by the late Mr. R. Sutcliffe seems to be the second known coin of this dynasty. The other, which is square, is in

the Indian Museum (*Suppl.* vol. i, p. 100, XLII, no. 1.
cf. also *A. S. Rep.* 1913-14, p. 253-4, pl. LXVIII, 16).

Obv. Lion l. with fore paw raised: sun behind: in double circle.

Around Nāgarī inscription; *Pulāsta-vaṃsa—Śrī-Saṃgrāma Śāhi Saṃvat 1600.*

Rev. Uncertain Telugu legend in centre.

Around: *Śrī-Pulāsta-vaṃsa-Śrī-Saṃgrāma-Śāhi-deva.*

N .95 wt. 167.

This coin gives another date 1600 (1543 A.D.) for the reign of Saṃgrāma-Shāhi, the Indian Museum coin being dated 1570 (1513). It also gives the name of dynasty the Pulāsta or Paulāstyā.

J. ALLAN.

XVI.

A FIND OF COINS OF THASOS.

[SEE PLATES IV-V.]

A SMALL find of silver coins mostly of Thasos recently came on the market, of which the majority has been acquired by the British Museum. By the kindness of Mr. Cyril Lockett (who acquired nos. 25 and 33), and of Messrs. Spink & Son, who held the remainder, I am enabled to publish the find as a whole. There is some reason to suppose that the hoard was intact. The coins were of uniform appearance and many showed small green patches of some coppery compound doubtless due to the circumstances of their burial. In the list which follows three degrees of condition have been observed: Fine (F.), Medium (M.), and Worn (W.); as the die-positions are irregular they have not been recorded; coins retained in the British Museum are marked B.M.

ABDERA.

1. *Obv.* Griffin springing l., trace of ABΔH beneath fore-paws.
Rev. Young male head r., in petasus; around,
 HPA|ΓO|PAΣ
 W. 1243. [Pl. IV.] L. Strack, *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, i 1 Thrakien. (Corpus), no. 94.
2. *Obv.* Similar; ethnic obliterated or off flan.
Rev. Bearded head of Dionysus r.; around, ΔI|ONY|Σ|AΣ
 W. 1258. [Pl. IV.] Corpus, no. 90.

3. *Obv.* Similar; above $\text{ABA} \Delta$.. almost obliterated.

Rev. Hera seated on throne with back, nearly facing, with both hands held up, palms outwards; she wears polos, veil, long-sleeved chiton, and himation, the end of which hangs over her l. shoulder; above and on r. and l., $[\text{H}] \text{POΓEI} \text{TON}[\text{O}\Sigma]$
W. 12-43. [PL. IV.] B.M.

4. *Obv.* Similar; ethnic obliterated or off flan.

Rev. Apollo standing l., wearing chlamys, with hanging ends, across the shoulders, holding laurel branch in l. over l. shoulder, and patera in outstretched r. hand; on the r. forearm a small Nike running r. and holding wreath?; on r., $\text{ΕΠΙ ΑΠΟΛ} \text{[AA } \Delta\text{O}\Sigma]$
W. 12-41. [PL. IV.] B.M. Cp. Corpus, no. 88.

BYZANTIUM.

5. *Obv.* Heifer stepping l., on dolphin l.; between forelegs, trident; above, ∇ .

Rev. Quadripartite square incuse, with granulated surfaces.

F. 15-27. [PL. IV.] B.M.

THASOS.

6. *Obv.* Head of Dionysus l., with heavy drooping moustache and beard, wearing ivy wreath with berries.

Rev. Bearded Heracles, in lionskin r., kneeling on r. knee and shooting with bow; behind, $\text{O}\Delta\text{ΣΙΟΝ}$; below on r., double-axe; the whole in rectilinear frame; circular incuse.

F. 15-39. [PL. IV.] B.M.

- 7-8. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, in field r., helmet with neck and cheek pieces.

(7) M. 7-11. [PL. IV.] B.M. (8) W. 7-06.
Same dies.

9-15. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, in field r, H. *B.M.C. Thrace*, p. 220, no. 40.

(9) M. 6-97. [Pl. IV.] (10) W. 7-30. (11) M. 7-06. (12) M. 7-08. (13) W. 7-01. (14) M. 6-94. (15) W. 7-03. Nos. 9-15, same *obv.* die, nos. 9-11 and 12-15, same *rev.* dies.

16-21. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, in field r., H. E. Babelon, *Traité*, ii. 4, pp. 721-2, no. 1147.

(16) M. 7-08. [Pl. IV.] B.M. (17) M. 7-12. (18) M. 7-06. (19) W. 7-00. (20) W. 7-35. (21) M. 7-06. [Pl. IV.] Nos. 16-18, same dies; nos. 19-20, same dies; no. 21, same *obv.* die as nos. 19-20.

22-4. *Obv.* Similar, head r.

Rev. Similar.

(22) W. 7-08. (23) M. 7-01. [Pl. V.] B.M. (24) M. 6-94. Nos. 22-4, same *obv.* die.

25-7. *Obv.* Similar, crude style.

Rev. Similar, in field r. Σ . *Traité, ibid.* 1148 (Monogram incorrectly given).

(25) F. 6-64. (R. C. Lockett.) (26) M. 6-92. [Pl. V.] B.M. (27) M. 7-26. [Pl. V.] Nos. 25-6, same dies.

28. *Obv.* Similar, but end of moustache curls upwards.

Rev. Similar, in field r., club.

F. 7-06. [Pl. V.] B.M.

29. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, in field r., club, on l. above, ∇ . *B.M.C., ibid.* 39.

F. 6-93. [Pl. V.]

30. *Obv.* Similar, head l.

Rev. Similar, in field r., HK .

F. 7-20. [Pl. V.] B.M. Same *obv.* die as no. 31.

31-2. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, in field r., K , beneath arms, grapes.

(31) F. 7-06. [Pl. V.] B.M. (32) F. 7-12.
No. 31, same *obv.* die as no. 30.

33. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, in field r., torch, beneath arm, ME.

F. 7-13. [Pl. V.] R. C. Lockett.

34. *Obv.* Similar, but with drooping moustache.

Rev. Similar, but OAS|I|ON on l., above, and on r.;
beneath arm, cicada?

W. 3-56. [Pl. V.]

35-6. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Similar, but OASION on l., in field r., grapes.

(35) F. 3-40. [Pl. V.] B.M. (36) F. 3-59.

37-40. Similar, crude style.

(37) F. 3-64. [Pl. V.] (38) F. 3-40. [Pl. V.]
(39) F. 3-45. [Pl. V.] B.M. (40) F. 3-67. B.M.

41. *Obv.* Head of River-god l., with wreath of reed.

Rev. Similar, in field r., club and pellet.

M. 1-82. [Pl. V.] B.M.

Nos. 1 and 2 of Abdera are well-known coins. The head on no. 1 is usually described as Hermes, and so it may be; but there is no caduceus or wing to denote the god, and in view of the closely similar head on early coins of Larisa (*Traité*, ii. 1, Pl. XLIII. 4-5), it

is perhaps worth suggesting that here, as there, we have to deal with Jason. The type would then be another of the canting magistrates' badges usual at Abdera: 'Ἡραγόρης = "Hera's gossip", for Hera stands behind Jason,¹ meeting him in the guise of an old woman on his way down from the mountains, inducing him to carry her over the swollen torrent and advising him how to answer Pelias.

The type of no. 3 is new; like many other Abderite types it seems directly derived from sculpture or relief. The general appearance of the seated figure with her veil and polos suggests Hera, and the suggestion is made practically certain by the play upon the magistrate's name, which can only be restored as Herogeiton. The same name occurs on bronze coinage of the subsequent period (Corpus, no. 182). The cult of Hera is not otherwise recorded at Abdera. It is hard to find a satisfactory parallel for the remarkable position of the arms. They are not raised in any ordinary gesture but strongly flexed at the elbow so that the upper arms hang down and the forearms are held up, the hands and fingers continuing in the same sense with palms outwards, the fingers all visible and none flexed. The closest parallel seems to be a bronze tablet of the first century A.D. from Bulgaria showing a bust of the great goddess of the Thracians with arms flexed and hands raised in exactly the same way.² The hands raised to Helios which sometimes occur in Syria and elsewhere in early Roman times, on the tombs of the untimely

¹ See Roscher, *Lexicon*, ii. 1, p. 65, for ref.

² Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, ii, p. 338, Pl. LXXXIX. 1. I have to thank Professor A. D. Nock, who has otherwise given me the benefit of his learning on the subject, for this reference.

dead,³ might also be thought of; but there, as the fore-arms only are shown, the parallel is not so certain. It is tempting to try to relate the bronze plaque of the Thracian goddess more closely with our Hera, on the assumption that she has assimilated some aspect of a native deity. Not only, however, is the interval of time between the two, nearly five centuries, an almost insuperable difficulty, but it is doubtful whether the close similarity of gesture is not accidental. A Thracian goddess, presumably the same as on the plaque, not infrequently appears on other plaques with either one or two rider gods, with or between whom she stands.⁴ One or both of her hands are often raised in varying degree as though in greeting of the others, and it looks as if the posture of the goddess on the Bulgarian plaque might be a development in isolation of this "greeting" scheme. If so, of course, the similarity with our stater is accidental. In general, raised arms might be regarded as a gesture of prayer, or surprise, or protection. Rostovtzeff describes the hands of the goddess on the bronze relief cited above as being raised in prayer, but one might rather have expected the whole arm to be raised and not the forearm only, and the hands to be flexed at the wrists instead of held upright.⁵ Further, what can be made of a statue of a praying Hera, and a seated one at that? The idea of surprise fits better with the upright position of the hands, but again it is difficult to apply it to Hera unless (as Professor Ashmole suggests

³ Cumont in *Atti d. Pont. Acad.*, 1923, pp. 65 seqq.

⁴ See the reproductions in J. Hampel, *Emlekek Leletek* (Archaeologiai Ertesito, 1904), pp. 305 ff., notably pp. 318, 323, 352, 359, 361-2.

⁵ But see Sittl in *Die Gebärden der Griechen*, p. 291.

to me) a scene from the Hieros Gamos is intended, and Hera's attitude is that of surprised acceptance of her lover. On the metope from Selinus depicting this scene (Benndorf, *Metopen v. Selinunt*, T. 7), the standing Hera's hands assume something of the same position, though there they are primarily raising her veil. On the whole, perhaps the idea of protection seems the most likely. At Sparta there was a temple of a Hera Hypercheiria,⁶ and though this epithet rather implies the hands of the protectress held not only up but over the protected, a similar aspect of Hera's cult at Abydos might be represented as we find it here.

No. 4, with the little Nike alighting on Apollo's arm, is a charming variant of a type already known from the Greenwell-Warren stater now in Boston (Corpus, no. 88). Both coins are from the same obverse die, but its condition shows that ours was the first to be struck. Unfortunately even less of the reverse legend appears on it than on the Boston coin. Regling (*Sammlung Warren*, no. 451) originally read this as *επι Απολλανος*. Strack (Corpus, no. 88, and p. 7), by turning the second A into a N with the help of the butt of the branch which Apollo holds, interpolating an imaginary Ω, and disregarding the propenultimate letter, produced the normal form *Απολλωνος* in a way which does more credit to his philological than his numismatic sense. Then, combining this with the somewhat similar type of Apollo and the legend *επι Καλλιανακτος* on another stater (Corpus, no. 97), he concluded that for some special reason in both cases, instead of Apollo's priest the god himself was made

⁶ Pausanias, iii, 13. 6.

ἐπώνυμος and so named the year in which the coins were struck. It is true that in imperial times this occasional procedure is found at several cities, but I can find no parallel for it at such an early date as this, and the completion *Απολλαδος* suggested in Collitz-Bechtel (*Samml. griech. Dialektinschr.*, no. 5644. 3)⁷ is doubtless right. *Απολλᾶς*, -ᾶδος is common enough as an Ionian name, and this type of declension is found very early in the dialect, cp. *Διονυσας* here on no. 2. Strack's theory, therefore, of the eponymous office twice assumed by the god must be abandoned, and instead, we must recognize two canting badges coupled with the names of the priests Apollas and Callianax.

The tetradrachm of Byzantium with the trident seems to be new, though this symbol is already known on the drachm (*B.M.C.*, no. 13). The introduction of the Rhodian standard, on which it is struck, is somewhat arbitrarily dated to 357 by Head (*H.N.*, p. 267). The coinage comes to an end under Alexander, if not a few years earlier after Philip's abortive siege of the city (340-339); and, as there are not less than eighteen varieties of the tetradrachm alone, the year 357 seems too late for the beginning of the series. It should possibly be pushed back even as far as the changes following the Peace of Antalcidas in 387-386 when the famous Symmachikon coinage of the anti-Spartan League, in which Byzantium shared, came to an end. The same standard was certainly introduced at this time or earlier in Abydos, Cyzicus, and other

⁷ I have to thank Mr. R. McKenzie for this reference and for other help beside. On a cast of the Boston coin kindly sent by Mr. Caskey, I find traces of what may be a double struck Δ where Regling read Ν.

neighbouring places. As the dots which produce the granulated effect in the incuse on the reverse are not so pronounced as on later issues, they suggest that our coin comes about midway in the series.

Of the coins of Thasos, nos. 6-8, 28, 30, 31-2, 33, 34, 35-40, 41 have unrecorded monograms or symbols. The Thasian didrachm is a very rare denomination, and its abundance in this hoard, compared with the others, is interesting. The style of the coins is variable: while on the tetradrachm and on most of the didrachms it is very good, though with a tendency to disintegrate on the reverse, nos. 25-7 are almost barbarous, and the same feeling is more apparent among the drachms (nos. 37-40). This is not a question of period, for while all the drachms have the same symbol (a bunch of grapes) and are therefore presumably of the same issue, nos. 35-6 are of a small neat style in decided contrast with the crudity of the others. On nos. 28-33 the god's moustaches show a marked tendency to turn up at the ends, giving a curiously unclassical look to the whole. This peculiarity does not occur on any surviving tetradrachms or drachms; and, as the didrachms on which we find it here are among the best preserved and therefore latest coins in the hoard, it becomes a useful chronological pointer inside the series. A closer dating of these coins will be possible when a date has been found for the burial of the hoard.

When and where was the hoard buried? The four coins of Abdera were all struck about the last quarter of the fifth century. They are all much worn and must have been in circulation for a long time, at least half a century to judge by their appearance. This would give a date in the second quarter of the fourth century

for the burial of the hoard. The Byzantine tetradrachm, which, as has been suggested above, belongs almost midway in the series beginning in 386 or later, and lasting till 334 or earlier, must have been struck about 360. It shows very little sign of wear, and the hoard cannot have been buried long after that date. Nothing is known of the provenance of the hoard except that it came from Greece, but the composition renders the Thraco-Macedonian region a certainty, and Thasos or Thasian territory a very strong probability. Thasian coins are not an "international" currency, like the coins of Athens and other great commercial cities, and are not likely to have travelled in bulk far from home. In the earlier fourth century Thasians had occupied and were exploiting the rich mining district of the Pangaeian range which lay immediately opposite their island. In 357 Philip of Macedon absorbed the region into his expanding kingdom, and it is a likely guess that our hoard was put away in the disturbances which attended his operations. Taking 357 as the year of the burial of the hoard, let us apply it to the dating of the Thasian coins. The tetradrachm shows scarcely more wear than the tetradrachm of Byzantium, so that it can hardly have been struck before 370. The drachm, no. 34, is the most worn of the Thasian coins, and must go back to the neighbourhood of 400. The very scarce hemidrachm, no. 41, and the didrachms, nos. 7-15, are a little later; then follow the didrachms, nos. 16-24, overlapping the tetradrachm. Most recent is the group, often of crude style, comprising the didrachms nos. 25-33 (mostly with turned up moustache), and the drachms (nos. 35-40). This arrangement, based on the degree of wear shown, corresponds well enough with what we

should assume of the stylistic development. Only the tetradrachm and the didrachm with the club symbol (nos. 28-9) fall rather later than might have been expected. The tetradrachm has no fellow to compare, so that it is impossible to say that special circumstances may not have favoured its condition; the didrachms with the club, however, have the late, turned up moustache, and are both quite fresh, so that their place seems fairly certain.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

XVII.
THREE HOARDS OF BARBAROUS ROMAN
COINS.

[SEE PLATE VI.]

A. COLCHESTER.

THE forty coins, which we have here to describe, were originally in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Polloxfen of Colchester; they passed from him by exchange to Mr. Golding, of Sudbury, Suffolk, from whom the present owner, Mr. W. C. Wells, bought them in 1901. It is to him that we owe the opportunity of publishing them now. The coins have been handed down as a hoard and their appearance is all in favour of the tradition. The place of finding was Colchester, the date probably in the '70's of last century. There is no evidence of any further coins in the original hoard, but the question naturally rises as to whether forty barbarous coins, copying models widely apart in time, were not accompanied by some regular issues.

A description of the coins follows:

1-30. Imitations of radiate coins of the period from c. A.D. 265-273.

Except as further described, the obverse shows head, radiate, r., no legend (or no legend visible).

1-3. Imitations of rev. type of Victorinus, INVICTVS, Sol walking l., raising r. hand and holding whip in l.; star, l., in field.

M. & S., v. 2, p. 326, no. 112; C. (Victorinus) 46 ff.¹

¹ The references are to Mattingly & Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, v. 1 and 2 (by Percy H. Webb) = M. & S.; and Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, vols. vi, vii, 1886-1888=C.

- (1) *Obv.* Young portrait (as Tetricus II) VVCI . . . ITAI
CIIIC l. to r., inwardly. Line border.

Rev. Male figure advancing l., raising r. hand and holding whip in l. SV on l., up, inwardly. Line border(?).

0.65, 38.00 gr. (2.46 gm.).

- (2) *Obv.* Draped. I2VEB r., up, outwardly.

Rev. Male figure standing l., head r., r. hand raised, branch in l. TAV (?), l. up, inwardly. Border of dots.

0.5, 13.8 (0.89).

[Pl. VI. 1]

- (3) *Obv.* Draped. . . CAΥC (?), r. down, inwardly.

Rev. Male figure advancing l., r. hand raised, l. extended to side and downwards; large star., l., in field. No legend.

0.4, 11.6 (0.75).

- 4-7. Imitations of rev. type of Tetricus I, PAX AVG.
Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.

M. & S., v. 2, p. 409, nos. 100 ff. C. (Tetricus I) 95 ff.

- (4) *Obv.* Draped. . . CLACITVS AVG, l. to r., inwardly.

Rev. Pax standing l., holding branch and straight sceptre. PAXS(?)² (I) VGG, l. to r., inwardly. Border of dots.

0.5, 10.5 (0.68).

[Pl. VI. 2]

- (5) *Obv.* Young portrait (as Tetricus II). . . VTEVJCA, l. to r., inwardly. Line border.

Rev. Pax (?) standing l., holding (?) branch and cornucopiae. . . VJ, l. down, inwardly.

0.5, 10.6 (0.69).

- (6) *Obv.* Draped. I II P C T II TII CVS VG, l. to r., inwardly.

Rev. As on no. 3 (branch off flan?) MĀ (?) . . . VG, l. to r., inwardly. Line border(?).

0.6, 15.2 (0.98).

² Or is this S part of the sceptre?

(7) *Obv.* Draped.

Rev. As on no. 5. ... IE(?), l. down, inwardly.

0.45, 14.5 (0.94).

8-11. Imitations of rev. type of Tetricus II, PIETAS
AVGG or AVGVSTOR. Priestly emblems.

M. & S., v. 2, p. 423, nos. 254 ff. C. (Tetricus II) 48 ff.

(8) *Obv.* Draped. AN(?) AVNA(?) ..., r.
down, inwardly.

Rev. Jug with two handles. MV A(?) ... N,
l. to r., inwardly. Border of dots. Overstruck(?).

0.65, 11.8 (0.76).

(9) *Obv.* Draped. C on l., inwardly; traces of letters
on r.

Rev. Jug with two handles (like standing figure, with
arms extended) low r. No legend. Border of dots.

0.5, 14.5 (0.94).

[Pl. VI. 3]

(10) *Obv.* TTT, r. up, outwardly.

Rev. Figure derived from jug.

0.45, 8.6 (0.56).

[Pl. VI. 4]

(11) *Obv.* ... V ... V V, r. down, inwardly.

Rev. Figure derived from jug. IDEVO, low, l. to r.,
outwardly. Border of dots.

0.45, 16.3 (1.06).

[Pl. VI. 5]

12. Imitation of rev. type of Tetricus II, PRINC
IVVENT, Prince standing l., holding baton and
straight spear (or other emblems).

M. & S., v. 2, p. 423, no. 260; C. (Tetricus II) 62 ff.

(12) *Obv.* Draped. IMP C TETRICVS N, l. to r., in-
wardly.

Rev. As original type, but CDVVC l. to r., in-
wardly.

0.7, 38.1 (2.47).

13-27. Uncertain imitations. Standing or moving figures
on rev..

- (13) *Rev.* Male figure advancing r., holding large shield on extended r. arm.

0.7, 27.6 (1.79).

- (14) *Obv.* Traces of letters on l.

Rev. Male figure advancing r., holding ? in r. hand and apple(?) in raised l. TC on l., down, inwardly, X, r., in field.

0.4, 9.6 (0.62).

- (15) *Obv.* Traces of letters on l. and r.

Rev. Male figure, draped, standing front, head r.(?), holding straight spear in r. hand and wreath by tie in extended l.(?)

0.45, 11.7 (0.76).

- (16) *Obv.* Draped. NV I T. LLI V VIV, l. to r., inwardly.

Rev. Victory, winged, standing r., holding palm in r. hand and ? in l. CMIO, l. down, outwardly. Traces of letter on r. Border of dots.

0.5, 13.2 (0.86).

- (17) *Obv.* Bust l. in small circle of dots.

Rev. Male figure standing r., brandishing javelin(?) in r. hand, l. arm thrown forward and downward. No legend. Small line circle.

0.55, 15.2 (0.98).

[Pl. VI. 6]

- (18) *Obv.* Draped(?). VVVS VO(?), r. down, inwardly.

Rev. Draped figure standing r., r. arm held downwards, holding ? in extended l. .. IEC, r. down, inwardly.

0.4, 8.3 (0.54).

- (19) *Obv.* Draped(?). Border of dots.

Rev. Male figure advancing l., r. arm raised, with round shield on shoulder(?), spear and pennon behind it(?). Traces of lettering r. and l.

0.5, 10.7 (0.69).

- (20, 21) *Obv.* Border of dots.

Rev. Female figure standing l., holding purse (? Δ) in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. O, low r., in field. Border of dots. Two coins from the same obv. and rev. dies.

0.5, 24.4 (1.58) [Pl. VI. 7] and 0.5, 21.7 (1.4).

- (22, 23) *Obv.* Draped lightly. Traces of letters on l. ... LIA, r. down, inwardly.

Rev. Figure standing front, head r., holding branch in r. hand, spear in l., both vertical. Border of dots. Two coins from the same obv. and rev. dies.

0.5, 12.3 (0.80) [Pl. VI. 8] and 0.45, 13.6 (0.88).

- (24) *Obv.* Draped. ... AC ... on r., inwardly.

Rev. Male figure standing l. (or front?), head r., holding branch in r. hand, ? in l., held downwards. Border of dots.

0.55, 21.3 (1.38).

- (25) *Obv.* Draped. ... NIVV VIIIH, r. down, inwardly. Border of dots(?).

Rev. Draped figure standing l., holding patera(?) in extended r. hand and straight sceptre in l.; in field, l., object like a jug. Traces of lettering. Border of dots.

0.6, 21.7 (1.41).

- (26) *Obv.* Draped. IMI TET ..., l. up, inwardly.

Rev. Draped figure standing l., holding wand touching ground in r. hand, l. side off flan. PR l. up, inwardly.³

0.55, 13.9 (0.90).

- (27) *Obv.* Traces of letters, O on l. A ... on r.(?).

Rev. Figure standing l., holding wreath in raised r. hand, ? in l. ... ARH(?) ... l. up, inwardly.


0.45, 8.00 (0.52).

³ Perhaps an imitation of rev. type of Victorinus PROVID AVG Providentia standing l., holding wand over globe and cornucopiae, M. & S. v. 2, p. 392, nos. 60 ff.; C. (Victorinus) 100 ff.

28-31. Various reverses.

(28) *Obv.* Traces of letters. Border of dots.*Rev.* Animal (wolf?) standing l. ICN in ex., traces of letters above type.

0.4, 11.4 (0.74). [Pl. VI. 9]

(29) *Rev.* Eagle front, head r.;⁴ in field, r., . Border of dots.

0.45, 14.2 (0.92).

(30) *Rev.*  (a broken down figure type?).

0.35, 8.9 (0.58).

(31) *Obv.* Draped (young portrait, as Tetricus II). Traces of letters.*Rev.* Pattern (derived from broken down figure or altar?).

0.35, 5.00 (0.32). [Pl. VI. 10]

32. Imitation of rev. type of Constantinopolis. No legend. Victory standing l. on prow. C. (vii, Constantinopolis), p. 326, no. 21.

(32) *Obv.* Helmeted, draped, bust r. ANO OOB(?)
VV . . l. to r., inwardly.*Rev.* Victory, winged, standing r. on prow, holding palm(?) and round shield. No legend. Border of dots.

0.55, 26.2 (1.70). [Pl. VI. 11]

33. Imitation of rev. type of Constantius II, FEL TEMP REPARATIO, Soldier standing l., driving spear at horseman fallen beside horse. C. (Constantius II), nos. 44 ff. Overstruck.⁵

⁴ Perhaps an imitation of the rev. type of Divus Claudius, CONSECRATIO Eagle, M. & S. v. 1, p. 234, no. 265 ff.; C. (Claudius II) 41 ff.

⁵ The original coin was perhaps a FEL TEMP REPARATIO, Emperor steered l. by Victory, of Constantius II, C. (Constantius II) nos. 31 ff.

- (33) *Obv.* Bust, diademed, draped, r. (?), overstruck on galley, r. (?).

Rev. Imitation of rev. quoted above, overstruck on bust, diademed, draped, r.

0.85, 25.4 (1.63).

- 34-40. Imitations of rev. type of Constantius II, FEL TEMP REPARATIO, as no. 33 above, but not overstruck.

The *obv.* in each case is bust, diademed, draped, r.; the *rev.* copies the main lines of the original.

- (34) *Obv.* ... ROCA (?), l. down, outwardly. TT! AVG, r. down, inwardly.

Rev. DEL RATIO, l. to r., inwardly; IISD in ex.

0.55, 18.3 (1.19).

[Pl. VI. 12]

- (35) *Obv.* NIN AVG, r. down, inwardly.

Rev. Traces of letters on l. XIII on r. down, inwardly; ITI in ex.

0.5, 10.4 (0.67).

- (36) *Obv.* TI AVG, r. down, inwardly.

Rev. The top half of the soldier off the flan; TCON in ex.

0.5, 8.6 (0.56).

- (37) *Obv.* ... IIVΛII, r. down, inwardly.

Rev. ... IIIII, on l., up, inwardly.

0.45, 7.00 (0.45).

- (38) *Obv.* and *rev.* No legend visible.

Rev. Horse almost off flan.

0.4, 6.3 (0.41).

- (39) *Rev.* Little more than horse visible. Traces of letters in ex.

0.4, 8.7 (0.56).

- (40) *Rev.* Only soldier and part of horse visible.

0.35, 5.2 (0.34).

[Pl. VI. 13]

The importance of this hoard will be obvious to all who have studied barbarous imitations of Roman coins in Britain. Imitations of radiate and of diademed heads both occur freely, but, on our previous information, almost, if not quite, invariably in separate deposits. Here we seem to have them combined in a single hoard. As the radiate imitations are not markedly different in wear from the diademed, we should naturally assign both classes to about the same date, a date which cannot be earlier than the "**FEL TEMP REPARATIO**" reverse of Constantius II, c. A.D. 348-361. If we seek to realize the conditions under which Roman coins so far apart in date as the radiate and diademed originals could be imitated concurrently, we must at once admit the possibility that we have to deal with a date after the Roman evacuation of the island. Whether, if this date is correct, the radiate and diademed imitations should be assigned to different issues, is a question still to be answered.

B. ICKLINGHAM.

This little hoard of twenty-one imitations of Roman coins was bought by Mr. W. C. Wells about the year 1906 from a labourer who had found them at Icklingham, Suffolk, on Icklingham Sands. It originally included some seven or eight regular copper coins of the age of Valentinian I and Valens. These are no longer available, but Mr. Wells has very kindly allowed us to publish the remainder.

1-11. Imitations of radiate coins of the period from c. A.D. 265-273.

Except as further described, the obv. is head, radiate, r., no legend (or no legend visible).

1. Imitation of rev. type of Claudius II, **CONSECRATIO**.
Altar.

M. & S., i, p. 233, nos. 261 ff. C. (Claudius II) 50 ff.

Rev. Altar. No legend. Border of dots.

0.5, 13.8 (0.89).

- 2-3. Imitations of rev. type of Tetricus II, **PIETAS**
AVGG or **AVGVSTOR**. Priestly emblems.

M. & S., v, 2, p. 423, nos. 254 ff. C. (Tetricus II) 48 ff.

- (2) *Obv.* Traces of letters on r.

Rev. Jug; curved line on l. l M on l. down, outwardly.

0.45, 8.8 (0.57).

- (3) *Obv.* ... **COC**, on r. downwards, inwardly.

Rev. Jug; Δ ? high, l. No legend. Border of dots.

0.45, 18.5 (1.20).

- 4-11. Standing or moving figures on rev. .

- (4) *Rev.* Male figure advancing r., holding branch in l. hand and round shield on extended r. \mathfrak{J} (?) l. r., M low l. Border of dots(?).

0.6, 8.00 (0.52).

[Pl. VI. 14]

- (5) *Obv.* Draped. .. **TIIICV** ... on r., downwards, inwardly.

Rev. Female figure, draped, standing r., emptying cornucopiae held in both hands(?). IIII l II, l. to r., inwardly.

0.65, 29.7 (1.92).

- (6) *Obv.* **IMPROBIV** V, l. to r., inwardly.

Rev. Male figure standing r., r. arm extended, holding ?, and holding spear(?) in extended l. O high l., V low l. Border of dots.

0.6, 16.9 (1.10).

[Pl. VI. 15]




- (7) *Rev.* Female figure, draped, standing r., holding



(?) in l. hand (r. side off flan). V V low

r. in field. Border of dots.

0.5, 7.4 (0.48).

- (8) *Obv.* Draped. !M AS, l. to r., inwardly.
Rev. Female figure, draped, standing l., holding
 crooked staff  (?) in r. hand and cornucopiae
 in l. Traces of letters l. or border (?).
 0.6, 18.1 (1.17).
- (9) *Obv.* Traces of letters high r.
Rev. Female figure, draped, standing l., holding
 wand (?)  in r. hand, l. arm at side (?). Traces
 of letters l. (?) Border of dots.
 0.6, 10.4 (0.67).
- (10) *Rev.* Altar (?).
 0.53, 26.9 (1.74). [Pl. VI. 16]
- (11) *Obv.* Draped. Traces of letters r.
Rev. Male figure striding r. (?)
 0.4, 9.00 (0.58).
12. Imitation of rev. type of Constantine I, VIRTVS
 EXERCIT, Two captives seated at base of standard.
 C. (Constantine I) 689 ff.
- (12) *Obv.* Head r. with spiky hair, in circular helmet (?).
 Border of line with spikes.
Rev. Two captives seated back to back at foot of
 standard. Line border.
 0.55, 19.4 (1.26). [Pl. VI. 17]
- 13, 14. Imitation of rev. type, She-wolf and twins (*obv.*
 VRBS ROMA). C. (Rome), vol. vii, p. 330, 17 ff.
- (13) *Obv.* Helmeted, draped, bust l. VB  on l. up,
 inwardly.
Rev. She-wolf suckling twins l.; above, two stars.
 Traces of letters in ex. No legend. Border of dots.
 0.55, 16.3 (1.06). [Pl. VI. 18]

- (14) *Obv.* Bust diademed (?) r.

Rev. As on no. 13. No legend. Border of dots.

0.45, 9.3 (0.60).

[Pl. VI. 19]

- 15-21. Imitations of rev. type of Constantius II, **FEL•TEMP•REPARATIO**. Soldier standing l., driving spear at horseman fallen beside horse. C. (Constantius II) 44 ff.

The *obv.* in each case is diademed, draped, r.; the *rev.* has the general type of the original.

- (15) *Obv.* DV CONŞ . . . SPF AVG, l. up, r. down, inwardly.

Rev. III L . . . , l. up, inwardly; CII T in ex.

0.55, 13.9 (0.90).

[Pl. VI. 20]

- (16) *Obv.* and *rev.* No legends.

0.5, 18.1 (1.17).

- (17) *Obv.* and *rev.* No legends.

0.5, 16.6 (1.08).

- (18) *Obv.* . . C O on l. up, inwardly.

Rev. Head of soldier and all horsemen off flan.

0.4, 6.3 (0.41).

[Pl. VI. 21]

- (19) *Obv.* AII VG on r. down, inwardly.

Rev. Little more than horse visible. CP! (?) in ex.

0.4, 14.2 (0.92).

[Pl. VI. 22]

- (20) *Obv.* . . IIA . . . high on r., inwardly. Border of dots.

Rev. Little but soldier visible.

0.4, 4.4 (0.29).

- (21) *Obv.* Traces of letters on l.

Rev. Uncertain (? fragments of the "FEL TEMP REPARATIO" rev.)

0.3. 5.4 (0.35).

[Pl. VI. 23]

The comments made above on the Colchester hoard apply with very slight modification to this. Again we seem to have the combination of radiate and diademed imitation in one hoard, again the possibility

of a post-occupation date. The coins of the age of Valentinian I mark a late date—but one still inside the Roman period. But it would hardly be safe to take this date, c. A.D. 364–375, as certain; for, in the first place coins of the later, Theodosian period, probably did not circulate freely all over Britain, and, in the second, Mr. Wells's recollection of the original content is not clear about the exact details.

C. DUSTON (?).

The following twelve coins were bought some years ago by Mr. W. C. Wells at Duston, Northants. It is certain they all came from the same plot of ground—uncertain whether they formed a single deposit. We have again to thank Mr. Wells for permission to publish them.


1–7. Imitations of radiate coins of the period from c. A.D. 265–273. Except as further described, the obv. shows head, radiate, r., no legend (or no legend visible).

1–4. Imitations of rev. type of Tetricus I, PAX AVG. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.
M. & S., v. 2, p. 409, nos. 100 ff. C. (Tetricus I) 95 ff.

(1) *Obv.* Draped. C II I . . . IOI, l. to r., inwardly.

Rev. As original, but 9XT SA . VG (?), l. to r., inwardly.

0.6, 10.7 (0.69).


(2) *Obv.* . . . 

Rev. As original, but r. arm held down.

0.6, 21.7 (1.41).

(3) *Rev.* As original (?).

0.35, 7.7 (0.50).

- (4) *Rev.* As original(?); r. arm off flan.
0.35, 3.6 (0.23).
5. Imitation of rev. type of Tetricus I, SPES AVG or AVGG?, Spes advancing l., raising skirt and holding flower.
M. & S., v. 2, p. 411, nos. 130 ff. C. (Tetricus I) 158 ff.
- (5) *Obv.* ... ETRICV... l. to r., inwardly.
Rev. As original, but barbarous. O, low l.
0.6, 24.4 (1.58). [Pl. VI. 24]
6. Imitation of rev. type of Tetricus II, PIETAS AVGG or AVGVSTOR. Priestly emblems.
M. & S., v. 2, p. 423, nos. 254 ff. C. (Tetricus II) 48 ff.
- (6) *Obv.* Border of dots.
Rev. Jug. AΛΛ l. up, inwardly. X, low l. in field.
Border of dots.
0.5, 6.9 (0.45).
7. Uncertain rev.
- (7) *Rev.* 
0.4, 7.5 (0.49). [Pl. VI. 25]
- 8, 9. Imitations of rev. type of Constantius II, FEL TEMP REPARATIO, Soldier standing l. driving spear at horseman fallen beside horse. C. (Constantius II) nos. 44 ff. Overstruck.
- (8) *Obv.* Bust, diademed, draped, r. ... EMP(?) l. up, inwardly. Traces of letters on r. Overstruck on two soldiers standing, with two standards between them. GLOR... on l. up, inwardly; TRP in ex.
Rev. Imitation of rev. quoted above; .LG in ex. Overstruck on bust, laureate(?), draped, r. CON STANT...
0.75, 35.4 (2.29).⁶

⁶ Overstruck on coin of Constantine I. (C. 253), *rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS, Two soldiers, or similar coin.

- (9) *Obv.* Bust, diademed, draped, r. .. ANTINVS(?) on r. down, inwardly. Overstruck (on what?).

Rev. Imitation of rev. quoted above. .EL.EM... on l. up, inwardly. Overstruck (on ... VICT..., two Victories?).

0-6, 21-8 (1-41).

[Pl. VI. 26]⁷

- 10-12. Imitations of rev. type of Constantius II, FEL TEMP REPARATIO, as no. 8 above, but not overstruck.

The *obv.* in each case is bust, diademed, draped, r.; the *rev.* copies the main lines of the original.

- (10) *Obv.* ... CVNONO(?), r. down, inwardly.

Rev. UCII(?) in ex.

0-45, 11-3 (0-73).

- (11, 12) *Rev.* Very vague; ? imitation of FEL TEMP REPARATIO.

0-45, 8-7 (0-56); 0-35, 9-00 (0-58).

This little group of coins cannot be treated as a hoard, in the absence of precise evidence. It is worth noting, however, that it shows a composition very similar to both Colchester and Icklingham.

H. MATTINGLY.

⁷ Overstruck on coin of Constantius II. (C. 293), VICTORIAE DDAVGGQNN or similar coin.

XVIII.

A LATE ROMAN HOARD FROM DALMATIA

[SEE PLATES VII, VIII.]

A HOARD of 2,197 late fifth-century Æ from Dalmatia, recently presented to the British Museum, has been entrusted to us for classification. In its composition throughout it bears a very close resemblance to the hoard from Corinth described by Mr. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.*, 1931, pp. 229-33, and his concluding remarks might be applied without change of a single word to our present hoard. But there is one very distinctive bust (helmeted r.), which is represented by three specimens in the Corinth hoard and does not occur in our much larger hoard.¹ These coins are well executed but seem not to come from an authorized mint and may be of local Corinthian origin. The two hoards, then, can be regarded as typical of the same period—the later part of the reign of Leo.

We have classified the coins as follows:

GREEK (7).

ASIA MINOR (4th century B.C.)	.	.	1
CEOS (4th century B.C.)	.	.	1
CHIOS (3rd century B.C.)	.	.	1
ERYTHRAE (3rd-2nd century B.C.)	.	.	1
ILLEGIBLE (3rd-1st century B.C.)	.	.	3

ROMAN.

RADIATE, Barbarous, 4. Æ 3 small (1); Minimi (3, not badly worn).

DIOCLETIAN, 1. C. 542 (halved and rounded).

¹ This may be a mere accident. One can hardly help suspecting that the two hoards had a common provenance.

CONSTANTINE I, 2. *C.* 250 (1); 716 (1).

HELENA, 2. *C.* 4.

PERIOD OF CONSTANTINE, 5. GLORIA EXERCITVS (one standard) (1); CONSTANTINOPOLIS (1); *C.* 4 SMNB. VRBS ROMA (2); *C.* 14 (1); Barbarous with *obv.* r. (1).

CONSTANTIUS II, 1. *C.* 95.

PERIOD OF CONSTANTIUS II, 73. FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier spearing fallen horseman (16, some cut down to $\text{Æ}4$ module); SPES REIPVBLICE (34, all broken and mostly worn; six of $\text{Æ}4$ module); VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN (9); VOT XX MVLT XXX (8); Type indecipherable (6).

JULIAN II, 1. *C.* 118(?).

VALENS, 7. *C.* 11 (2); 47 (5).

PERIOD OF VALENS, 36. GLORIA ROMANORVM (7, one with m.m. $\overline{\text{SM} \text{P} \text{RP}}$ cut down and rounded); SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE (28, m.m. $\overline{\text{RSECVNDA}}$ (1); ?RESTITVTOR REIP (1)).

GRATIAN, 2. *C.* 75 (1); 77 (1, m.m. $\overline{\text{SMNB}}$).

VALENTINIAN II, 25. *C.* 8 (1); 12 (3, m.ms.² $\overline{\text{A} \mid \text{TES}}$ (2)); 30 (15); 46 (1); not in *C.* VICTORIA AVGGG Two Victories (1); 73 (3, m.ms. $\overline{\text{ALEA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMKB}}$ (1)); Type indecipherable (1).

THEODOSIUS I, 59. *C.* 15 (1, m.m. $\overline{\text{A} \mid \text{TES}}$); 18 (1); 30 (35, m.ms. $\overline{\text{ALEA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANT} \Gamma}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANT} \Delta}$ (1), $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{AQ} \text{///}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{CONSD}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{CONS} \text{///}}$ (1), ? $\overline{\text{R} \text{P} \text{P}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMKA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMKB}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMK} \Gamma}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMNA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMND}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{TESB}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{TES} \Delta}$ (1)); 41 (1); 43 (3, m.ms. $\overline{\text{RP}}$, $\overline{\text{///}}$, $\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$); 68 (15, m.ms. $\overline{\text{ALEA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANT} \Delta}$

² i.e. of the total—here three—of this type the mintmarks given are alone visible.

(1), $\overline{\text{ANT}}\text{///}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMKB}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{SMN}}\Gamma$ (2)); as *C.* 68 but with $\text{MV}\cdot\text{LT}$ for MVLT (2, m.ms. $\overline{\text{ANA}}$, $\overline{\text{ANB}}$); not in *C.* VOT XV MVLT XX (1).

FLACCILLA, 2. *C.* 5 (m.ms. $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$, $\overline{\text{SMHA}}$).

VICTOR, 1 (\mathcal{A} 4). Cf. *C.* 3 "P. B" (m.m. SMAQS).

ARCADIUS, 46. *Sabatier* 32 (1); 34 (4, m.ms. $\frac{\Gamma}{\text{TES}}$ (2));

41 (32, m.ms. $\overline{\text{ALE}}\Gamma$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANB}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANT}}\Gamma$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANT}}\Delta$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANT}}\text{///}$ (1), $\overline{\text{CONSA}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{CONS}}\text{///}$ (2), $\text{SMH}\Gamma$ (1), $\text{SMH}\text{///}$ (1), $\text{SMK}\Gamma$ (1), $\text{SMK}\text{///}$ (1), $\text{SMN}\Gamma$ (1), $\text{SMN}\text{///}$ (1)); not in *S.* VIRTVS EXERCITI Victory crowning emperor (2, m.m. SMNA (1)); 47 (4, m.ms. $\overline{\text{BSIS}}$ (1), SMHA (1), $\text{SMK}\Gamma$ (1), $\text{SMK}\text{///}$ (1)); 48 (3, $\overline{\text{ANA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANB}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ALE}}\Delta$ (1, with *obv.* division D-I)).

EUGENIUS, 4. *C.* 5 (m.m. $\text{LV}\text{///}$).

HONORIUS, 39. Not in *C.* \mathcal{A} 4 CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Cross (3, *obv.* division I-V); *C.* 24 (2); 26 (5, m.m. SMHA (1)), not in *C.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors each holding a spear and together a globe (5, m.m. $\overline{\text{SMH}}\text{///}$ (1)); 28 (3); 32 (3, one without P); not in *C.* VICTORIA AVGG Victory advancing 1. (10, m.ms. $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{///}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{S}}{\text{///}}$ (2), $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{RM}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{///}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{E}}{\text{///}}$ (3)); 56 (1, m.m. $\overline{\text{CON}}\text{///}$); 72 (4, one *obv.* [D]NONOR - - -); Type indecipherable (3).

ARCADIUS or HONORIUS, 12. VICTORIA AVGGG Single Victory (1, m.m. PCON); VIRTVS EXERCITI (4); VRBS ROMA FELIX (7). This type is found, though very rarely, also for Theodosius I.

PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS I, 96. SALVS REIPVBLICAE (71, m.ms. $\frac{\bullet}{\text{ALEA}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{ANTA}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{AN}}\text{///}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{AQP}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{AQ}}\text{///}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{SMHB}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{SMNA}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{SMNB}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{SMN}}\Gamma$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{TES}}\text{///}$ (1)); VICTORIA AVGGG (a) Single Victory

(10, m.m. $\overline{\text{RP}}$ (1)), (b) Two Victories (2); VOT X MVLT XX (8, m.ms. ALEA (1, with T behind *obv.* bust); AN $\overline{\text{|||||}}$ (1)); VOT XX MVLT XXX (1); Type indecipherable (4).

ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, or THEODOSIUS II, 17. CONCORDIA AVG Cross (1, m.m. ALEA); CONCORDIA AVGGG Cross (2, m.m. SMH $\overline{\text{|||||}}$ (1)); CONCORDIA AVG or AVGGG (1); GLORI-A ROMA-NORVM Three emperors standing (13, m.ms. ALEA (1), ANTA (1), ANTB (1), ANTΓ (1), AN $\overline{\text{|||||}}$ (1)).

Probably HONORIUS, 1. - - - VR - - Emperor standing facing, holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield. We have met with this type for Honorius on extremely rare coins of Lugdunum and Arelate—some seven or eight in all. The *rev.* legend either is, or is intended to be, GLORIA RO-MANORVM. Curiously, more than half of these occurred in a hoard from Hawara, now exhibited in the British Museum. On these one m.m. LVG alone was visible (wt. 1.91). Col. Ulrich-Bansa possesses a fine specimen with correct legend, m.m. SCON (wt. 2.6). They must be carefully distinguished from the coin (wt. 1.17) given by v. Koblitiz, from an imperfect specimen, in his *Münzstätte Treveri* under Theodosius I (19). A perfect specimen at Brussels shows this latter coin to be VRTVS RO-MANORVM (*sic*)









m.m. $\frac{|*}{\text{TR}}$ of Theodosius II. It is connected with

a late silver issue with mintmarks of Treveri for Theodosius II and Valentinian III, best known from the d'Arcy-Saint-Restitut find (*Mém. de la Soc. nat. des Antiquaires*, 1878). Cf. C., Theodosius I (58) and Valentinian III (32-35).

THEODOSIUS II, 121. Not in *Sabatier*. CONCORDIA AVG Victoria standing facing, holding wreath in either hand (10, m.m. SMKΔ [Pl. VII. 1, 2]; one, barbarous but well executed, has *obv.* DN THEOD-SIVS P F AVG and *rev.* reads upwards r. outwardly CONCO ?DIVAG [Pl. VII. 3]). S. 26 (3, with *obv.* legend unbroken); 28 (1); not in S. GLORIA ROMANORVM Two emperors standing, holding spears and leaning on their shields (6); not in S. VOT X MVLT XX (1,

with *obv.* legend unbroken [PL. VII. 4]); 31 (15, m.ms. CON (2); on two coins TV for VT); 33 (75, *a.* with *obv.* legend undivided (26, m.ms. AN (1), SMKA (1), SMKB (2), SMNB (2); blundered *obv.* - - DOSVS - - (2, m.m. CON (1)), - - - ODIVS - - (1)). *b.* With *obv.* legend divided O-S (4, m.ms. SMKB (1), SMK (2), SMNB (1)). *c.* With *obv.* uncertain (45, m.ms. SMKA (5), SMK (1), SMNB (2), SMN (1)); 34 (10, of which 3 are barbarous).

PVLCHERIA 2. Not in *S.* or *Tolstoi*. Type "Empress seated facing with arms crossed on breast." *Obv.* -- PVLC --- [Pl. VII. 5]. Col. Ulrich-Bansa kindly informs me that on similar coins of Eudocia the *rev.* legend is CONCORDIA AVG and the m. m. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ or $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CON}}$, which may be presumed here.

VALENTINIAN III, 43. Not in *C.* [CONCOR]DIA AVG Victory standing facing, holding wreath in either hand (1, m.m.  MKB. *Obv.* - - - VALENTINIANO PF AVG [Pl. VII. 6]. *C.* 5 (1); not in *C.* SALVS REI-[PVBLICAE] Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm (1, m.m.  [Pl. VII. 7]. The attribution to Valentinian is not certain, but probable; see note at end; not in *C.* SALVS REI[-PUBL]ICAE Cross, not in wreath (1, m.m. RM. *Obv.* DN VAL - - - [Pl. VII. 8]); cf. *C.* 12, 13 VICTOR - IA AVGG Single Victory (11, *a.* With *obv.* legend DN PLA VALENTINIANVS PF AVG (1, m.m. ). *b.* With *obv.* legend DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG (3. m.ms.  (2)). *c.* With *obv.* legend uncertain (7, m.ms.  (1),  (1),  RM (1),  (1)); cf. *C.* 15 VICTORIA AVGG Two Victories facing, together holding a wreath (6, m.m. RM (1). *Obv.* legend, when legible, undivided [Pl. VII. 9]); 38 (3); 40 (2); cf. *C.* 38-40 (4), not in *C.* VOT XX (2), VOT•XX (5, m.ms. P T̄ (1), Ē (1)), not in *C.*

No legend and cross in wreath (2, m.ms. $\overline{\text{SMKA}}$ (2). The *obv.* legend is unbroken and is in the dative case; one blundered $\text{DNVAL} - - - \text{NIAO PF AVG}$). Type indecipherable (4, two end $- - - \text{AVGG}$ and may have the normal SALVS REIPVBLICAE type. One m.m. resembles AO or AQ).

PERIOD OF VALENTINIAN III, 425. CONCORDIA AVG (?) Victory holding two wreaths (7); SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory holding trophy and dragging captive (5, m.ms.

$\frac{\text{P}}{\text{P}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{Q}}{\text{Q}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{RM}}$ (1). We have found this variety only for Johannes, Theodosius II, and Avitus (Hamburger Cat. 25/10/32)); VICTORIA AVGG Single

Victory (40, $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{P}}$ (6), $\frac{\text{S}}{\text{S}}$ (2), $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{T}}$ (9), $\frac{\text{Q}}{\text{Q}}$ (1),


$\frac{\text{E}}{\text{RM}}$ (3), $\frac{\text{E}}{\text{E}}$ (1), $\frac{\text{E}}{\text{E}}$ (1). Some of these are, no doubt, late coins of Honorius; Late "Single Victory" type, not of the last-mentioned class; mostly barbarous (100, two end $- - \text{AVG}$, m.m. $\overline{\text{ROA}}$ (1), one ends


$- - - \text{TAVG}$ [Pl. VII. 10], one has m.m. $\frac{\text{I}}{\text{I}}$, two


with *rev.* legend $\text{VIIV} - - -$ have a very pronounced line, ? Victory's r. wing, in l. field). "Two Victories" type (8, of which 3 are barbarous); no legend and cross in wreath (265, m.ms. $\overline{\text{ANT}}$ (3), $\overline{\text{ANT}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ANT}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (10), $\overline{\text{SMHA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMHB}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{SMKA}}$ (4), $\overline{\text{SMKB}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{SMK}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMNA}}$ (5), $\overline{\text{SMNB}}$ (1). Four have no *obv.* legend. One has *obv.* bust radiate. There are many varieties of crosses; one, a long cross, has C in l. field; one, P [Pl. VII. 11]).


MARCIAN, 337. *Sabatier 11* (337. The *obv.* legend, when legible, is always unbroken, unless otherwise stated. The following varieties of monogram are found:


$\overline{\text{SR}}$ (77, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CHES}}$ (1, *obv.* legend ends $- - \text{VSPFVS}$); $\overline{\text{CHE}}$ (5, one with (?) star above; one with + above and without S); $\overline{\text{HES}}$ (1); $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (4); $\overline{\text{CYZ}}$ (13); $\overline{\text{NIC}}$ (3)).


 (60, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (9); $\overline{\text{CYZ}}$ (2); $\overline{\text{NIC}}$ (5, one with S reversed); $\overline{\text{NICO}}$ (7)).


 (20, m.m. $\overline{\text{NICO}}$ (1); one *obv.* legend ends --- PF).


 (69, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (28), $\overline{\text{NIC}}$ (6); one *obv.* legend ends --- VS).


 (8, m.m. $\overline{\text{SMNA}}$ (1); one *obv.* legend MARCIA NVS PA).

 (17, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{SMNA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{NIC}}$ (1, with *obv.* legend [] MARCI+ANVS[]). Irregular *obv.* endings --- IAOPFAV (1); --- ANO (1); --- PA (1); --- P (2)).

 (9, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (3); $\overline{\text{NIC}}$ (2)).

 (4, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (2)).

 (20, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (5); barbarous with *obv.* legend ending --- IAO (1)).

 (4, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (1); $\overline{\text{CK}}$ (1)).

Monogram variety doubtful (24, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (2)); barbarous (25, *obv.* legend blundered (6); dots for letters (7); no letters or dots visible (9). One has $\overline{\text{CON}}$ above and \dagger below monogram).

? LIBIUS SEVERUS, 3. Monogram of Ricimer (3, of which one appears to have C below, as well as above, the R and E of the monogram [Pl. VII. 12]).

LEO, 560. *Sabatier* 14 (66, with *obv.* legend: a. DN LEO PERPET AVG (5, m.ms. $\overline{\text{NIC}}$ (2) [Pl. VII. 13]). b. DN LEO PF AVG (4, m.ms. $\overline{\text{COJN}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{NIC}}$ (1)). c. DN LEO S PF AVG (1)). d. DN L-EO (30, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$

(1) [Pl. VII. 14], $\frac{+ |}{\overline{\text{CON}}}$ (1), $\frac{+ |}{\overline{\text{CN}}}$ (7) [Pl. VII. 15],

$\frac{\text{X} |}{\overline{\text{CN}}}$ (2), $\frac{* |}{\overline{\text{CN}}}$ (3), $\frac{\text{||||} |}{\overline{\text{CN}}}$ (3), $\frac{+ |}{\text{||||}}$ (6), $\frac{* |}{\text{||||}}$ (3)).

e. *Obv.* legend illegible (26, m.m. $\frac{* |}{\text{||||}}$ (1)). This *rev.*

type appears also as *obv.* to *rev.* Cross in wreath (6, of which two have long cross and captive reversed, i.e. held in l. and r. hand respectively. Of these two, one has the mint-name in the exergue represented by a waved line); 15 (52, with *obv.* legend: *a.* DN L-EO (20, m.m.

$\frac{b}{b} | \frac{E}{E}$ [Pl. VII. 16]). *b.* DN LEO PERPET (1, m.m.

$\frac{b}{b} | \frac{E}{E}$ [Pl. VII. 17]). *c.* DN LEO PER AVG (2,

m.ms. $\frac{b}{b} | \frac{E}{E}$ (2) [Pl. VII. 18]). *d.* *Obv.* legend illegible

(26)). Barbarous (3, of which one ends *obv.* legend ---PERTA, another ---A, and the third begins it ON---); 19, 20 (278, with *obv.* legend: *a.* DN LEO PERPET AVG (5, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (2, lion standing,

apparently not in wreath), $\frac{*}{*}$ (3, lion standing, ? in

wreath). *b.* DN LEO PF AVG (143, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (42, lion couched, in wreath [Pl. VII. 19, 20], 13, lion couched, apparently not in wreath), $\overline{\text{CYZ}}$ (1, lion standing in wreath)). *c.* DN LEO PERP(?) AVG (1, m.m.

$\frac{*}{*}$ lion standing, no wreath [Pl. VII. 21]). *d.* DN

LEO P AVG (1, m.m. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ lion couched in wreath [Pl. VII. 22]). *e.* DN LEO + PF AVG (1, m.m.

$\frac{*}{*}$ lion standing, ? in wreath [Pl. VII. 23]). *f.* DN

L-EO (12, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (4, lion couched, in wreath), $\overline{\text{CN}}$ (2, lion couched, in wreath). *g.* *Obv.* legend illegible

(109, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (22, lion couched, in wreath), $\frac{*}{*}$

(2, of which one has lion couched, in wreath [Pl. VII. 24],

the other, lion standing, ? in wreath), $\overline{\text{CN}}$ (1, lion couched,

? in wreath)). Barbarous (7, of which one apparently

begins the *obv.* legend VICT---, one, with m.m. $\overline{\text{CON}}$,

has II for L, and three (two with m.m. $\overline{\text{CON}}$) have H

for L [Pl. VII. 25]); 17 (163, with *obv.* legend: *a.* DN

LEO PF AVG (7). *b.* DN LEO + PF AVG (1).

c. DN LEO S P ---- (6, m.ms. $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (2)). *d.* ----ET

AVG (1, m.m. SMN $\frac{E}{E}$ [Pl. VII. 26]). *e.* ---- + AVG

(1 [Pl. VII. 27]). *f.* ----LEO + ... (1). *g. Obv.* legend still more imperfect or illegible (121, m.ms. CON (9, of which one has *obv.* ---ONS--- [Pl. VII. 28, 29]), CYZ (6), THS [Pl. VII. 30; VIII. 1] (5, of which one has *obv.* ending ----YS). Barbarous (25, among which occur the *obv.* endings ----AVGG (?), ----AVGO [Pl. VIII. 2, 3], ---VAG. Varieties of monogram are:

$\overset{SC}{N}$ (4, one with *obv.* ---PERPET AVG, one with m.m. THS), $\overset{OS}{N}$ (1, *obv.* ---OAVG, barbarous), $\overset{ME}{N}$ (1), $\overset{N}{N}$ (1)). Obverse brockage DN LEO (1).

MARCIAN or LEO. Illegible monograms (32).

UNCLASSIFIED.

Obv. DOMINIS-NOSTRIS Bust diademed and draped r.

Rev. SALVS REIPVBLICE (the CE run into the exergual space; no m.m.) Camp-gate [Pl. VIII. 4]. A similar coin, but with *obv.* DOMINO-NOSTRO and lacking *rev.* legend, is described by Wroth in his *Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards*, p. 28. On p. 19 a Victory reverse with legend CART-AGINE PP combined with *obv.* DOMINO-NOSTRO suggests to him that these rare coins were struck at Carthage by Gaiseric c. 439 or later by his son Huneric. The "neat, almost delicate, workmanship", on which Wroth remarks, is still more noticeable on our present coin, which seems to be unique in having the plural *obv.* legend. If Wroth is right in his attribution, this change may be due to the *rapprochement* between Gaiseric and Valentinian III in 445 when the betrothal of Huneric with the young princess Eudocia was arranged.

Obv. ---IVS PCA---- Bust diademed and draped r.

Rev. ---ICA Emperor standing facing, head r., holding spear (or standard) and globe; m.m. $\overline{\text{ON}}$.

Obv. Bust. *Rev.* K+ [Pl. VIII. 5].

Obv. Animal (? hare or stag) r.; underneath, ? star. *Rev.* \times [Pl. VIII. 6].

Obv. Bust diademed and draped r. *Rev.* \times .

Barbarous. (a) Obverse, unless otherwise noted, the normal bust, diademed and draped r. Reverse types:

? Camp-gate VOT PVB type (1) [Pl. VIII. 7].

Camp-gate in wreath (1) [Pl. VIII. 8].

Victory (3).

Standing figure, holding shield and spear (2).

SALVS REIPUBLICAE type (5 [Pl. VIII. 9], of which 3 have the Victory r. instead of l.).

Standing figure r., holding spear or long cross (3) [Pl. VIII. 10, 11].

Standing figure r., holding long cross (2).

Vota (meaningless) (3) [Pl. VIII. 12].

Pattern of intersecting straight lines (3) [Pl. VIII. 13].

Waved line (1). ? Reverse (1) [Pl. VIII. 14].

Cross in wreath (2) [Pl. VIII. 15, 16, 17].

? Segment of large wreath with indistinguishable objects (1) [Pl. VIII. 18].

X in squares (4) [Pl. VIII. 19].

V in squares (4) [Pl. VIII. 20].

Three parallel lines, forming two bands, in the upper of which <, in the lower X, are repeated (1).

Monogram (1) [Pl. VIII. 21].

? Monogram with branch at side (1) [Pl. VIII. 22].

(b) Obverse not a bust.

Obv. ? Victory. *Rev.* Monogram (1) [Pl. VIII. 23].

Obv. Male figure standing. *Rev.* Cross in wreath (3) [Pl. VIII. 24, 25, 26].

Obv. Cross. *Rev.* ? Cross (1).

Obv. Intersecting lines. *Rev.* Cross in wreath (2).

Obv. Indecipherable. *Rev.* Branch-like pattern (1) [Pl. VIII. 27].

Obv. Intersecting lines. *Rev.* ? Monogram in wreath (1) [Pl. VIII. 28].

Obv. Straight and waved lines. *Rev.* Cross in wreath (2) [Pl. VIII. 29, 30].

Obv. and *rev.* illegible (154, of which six appear to be broken down Æ 3 and thirty-four to be distinctly barbarous).

The coins were distributed approximately as follows:

GREEK 4th-1st century B.C. 7

ROMAN

Radiate (perhaps late imitations)	4
Diocletian	1
c. 330-364	84
364-378	43
379-395	248
395-423 (death of Honorius)	81
423-450 (death of Theodosius II)	567
450-457 (death of Marcian)	337
457-	585
Illegible monograms	32
Unclassified	54
Quite doubtful	154

2,197

The numerous coins of Leo suggest that this, like the Corinth, hoard should be dated c. 465-70. The "Justinian" of the Corinth hoard must be an intruder. The Greek coins, the late radiate, the "new type" Victory holding wreath in either hand, and "the curious and hitherto unknown types" are as distinctive of this, as of that, hoard (see *Num. Chron.*, 1931, *l.c.*).

The type of Victory holding wreath in either hand is given by *Tolstoi* for Theodosius II with legend **CONCORDIA AVG** and m.m. **SMKA**. It has been noted for him (in Spink's *Num. Circ.* Jan. 1933. "*The coinage of the Valentinianian and Theodosian Periods*") also with imperfect *rev.* legend and m.m. **SMN**///, and with ending . . . **AVGG** and m.m. **CON**. The second **G** of **AVGG** may be due to a misreading. In the one absolutely clear instance seen, the single **G** is certain; but Theodosius struck the type also for Valentinian III, whose name, however, is in the dative case.

Some of the "Unclassified" coins are distinctly interesting. Perhaps future finds may help to localize them and so suggest a clue to their significance.

It seems impossible to believe that different values could be attached to the various units of this heterogeneous hoard. They range in weight from about 2 grms. to about 0.3 gm. The great majority are about 1 gm. A large hoard from Kostolac of some thirty years earlier date than ours, not yet described, is stated by Dr. Mickwitz to consist of coins of from one to two grammes but with no clear division of weight and often not of type. He thinks that the smaller coins may be the *nummi* of which 7,000 or 7,200 went to the *solidus*. But apart from the difficulty of differentiating between the larger and the smaller of these small coins, their bare metal value would seem to be too high for this. Soon after the deposition of our hoard the bronze coinage was regularized and coins were struck at Ravenna bearing their value in *nummi* from XL down to V. Their weights vary but, roughly speaking, the V-*nummi* piece averages about 2 grms. A smaller coin, having a great resemblance to the later coins of our hoard, averages about 1 gm. Wroth suggests that this is a $2\frac{1}{2}$ -*nummi* piece and, as the new Ostrogoth coinage is more likely to be simply a regularization of the coinage in current use than an abrupt deviation in standard from it, it is possible that the coins of our present hoard had this uniform value. The "workaday" currency of the period, Wroth says, probably consisted of the small X- and V-*nummi* pieces. An interesting document of the year 494, quoted by Dr. Mickwitz, shows the value of a *solidus* to be 1,400 "folles". The "follis", then, might well be the V-

nummi piece. Our present coins would have the value 1/2800 of a *solidus* and were probably known as *denarii*.³

J. W. E. PEARCE.

M. E. WOOD.

NOTE.—Since the above was written two important little books bearing on our subject have appeared. Dr. Gren of Uppsala has described in a "preliminary notice" the large Kostolac hoard of over 100,000 coins; but though the value of his work as a whole is undeniable, it—as he tells us himself—needs revision in numismatic detail, and I do not quote from it here. Mr. E. T. Newell in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 60, has described and illustrated a small hoard from Minturno, which largely coincides in time with ours. A third, very similar, hoard is in the possession of Dr. L. A. Lawrence. A conspectus—based on these and other sources—of the types and mintmarks associated with the two legends in commonest use is appended. Seldom, if ever, is either obverse or reverse legend complete. When visible the obverse seems regularly to begin with *D. n.* and to end with *p. f. Aug.*; but in one coin of Galla Placidia *D. n.* is omitted.

Rev. SALVS []BLICA Cross in wreath.

Val. III (? *obv.*) $\frac{Q}{RM}$.

SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory dragging captive l.

³ St. Jerome (xxii) relates the following anecdote of Theodosius I. He was distributing "*singulos nummos*" among the people. "*Anus quaedam annis pannisque obsita praecurrit ut alterum nummum (generic) acciperet; ad quam cum ordine pervenisset, pugnus porrigitur pro denario.*" *Denarius*, then, would seem to be the name for the smallest bronze.

Johannes (*obv.* division N-N) $\frac{P}{RM}$, $\frac{P}{RM}$ (? *rev.* ending).

SALVS REI-PVBLICE Type as last.

Johannes (N-E) $\frac{P}{RM}$, $\frac{S}{RM}$, $\frac{Q}{RM}$, $\frac{P}{RM}$;
 $\frac{P}{RMS}$ (? *obv.* division.)

Theodosius II (? O-S) $\frac{P}{S}$, $\frac{P}{T}$, $\frac{P}{Q}$, $\frac{P}{\epsilon}$.

Avitus (T-V) $\frac{P}{P}$ (but exact *rev.* legend uncertain).

SALVS REI-[]ICAE Cross (no wreath).

Val. III (*D. n. Val...*) $\frac{I}{RM}$.

Placidia $\frac{I}{RM}$, $\frac{S}{R}$.

SALVS RE-[] Cross in wreath.

? Placidia (///-ia p. f. Aug.) ? \overline{RM} .

SALVS REI-PVBLICE (perhaps also -AE) Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm.

Val. III (*D. n. Pla V.*, unbroken when legible) $\frac{S}{RM}$,

$\frac{Q}{RM}$, $\frac{T}{RM}$.

Placidia (*Galla P.*) $\frac{P}{///}$; $\frac{S}{///}$ (? *obv.*).

VICTORIA AVGG Victoria advancing l., holding wreath and palm.

Honorius $\frac{P}{RM}$, $\frac{S}{RM}$, $\frac{Q}{///}$, $\frac{\epsilon}{RM}$, $\frac{P}{T}$, $\frac{I}{RM}$.

Val. III (*D. n. Val*---, unbr.) $\frac{*|P}{RM}$, $\frac{*|T}{RM}$, $\frac{*|Q}{RM}$,
 $\frac{*|E}{RM}$; $\frac{T|}{RM}$.

(*D. n. Pla Val*---? unbr.) $\frac{S|}{RM}$.

Obv. doubtful $\frac{*|B}{RM}$; $\frac{P|}{RM}$, $\frac{Q|}{\text{hatched}}$, $\frac{E|}{\text{hatched}}$.

VICTOR-IA AVGG Victory dragging captive l.

Val. III (*D. n. Val*---, unbr.) $\frac{P|}{RM}$.

VICTOR-IA AVGG⁴ Two Victories holding one wreath
 (and ? palms).

Val. III (*D. n. Pl*[] $\frac{|}{RM}$). With both *obv.* and *rev.*

legends doubtful (? *D. n. Val*---) $\frac{\cdot}{RM}$.

J. W. E. P.

⁴ Mr. E. T. Newell reads --- AVGGG and *obv. D. n. Val*--- on coins in the Minturno hoard.

XIX.

NOTES ON ARAB-SASSANIAN COINS.

[See PLATE IX]

IN the course of a recent examination of the coins with Pehlevi legends issued by the early Muḥammadan rulers in Persia and adjoining provinces, the present writer has had the opportunity given him of deciphering several unique and unpublished examples. One satisfactory result of this is the discovery of the names of one or two new governors hitherto unrepresented on the lists for this series.

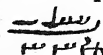

As the writer is now engaged on the preparation of the Catalogue of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd coins in the British Museum, of which one section will be devoted to the Arab-Sassanian coinage, it is, no doubt, advisable for him to publish this new material at once, in order that he may profit by the confirmation or criticism of Oriental numismatists, and at the same time, perhaps, elicit further information on the annals of this very fascinating, but difficult, transition period in Persian history.

(a) *Three New Arab-Sassanian Governors.*

(1) BISHR IBN MARWĀN (بشر بن مروان).

AR 1.2; wt. 63.6 (4.12 grms). [Pl. IX.1.] [Thorburn Coll.]

Obv. The usual bust of Sassanian type facing r., the only noteworthy difference being the breast ornament, consisting of three oval pendants instead of pellets; in field r.

downwards  BISHR-I-MRWANAN. In field l. downwards,  AFZUT and monogram; outside, in second

quarter, marginal legend, half in Arabic, *بسم الله*, and half in Pehlevi, *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥*.

Rev. The usual fire-altar with two attendant priests. The coin is, however, remarkable because of the presence of a fourth, outer, circle, which is a new feature characteristic of the later Umayyad *dirhams* of pure Arabic type that succeeded the Arab-Sassanian. There is another example of this on the peculiar experimental coinage of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf dated 77. In field r. downwards, mint-name, *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* ZD(?); in field, l. downwards, date, *𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* CHHAR HFTAT i.e. 74.

This is the first occurrence on the coins of this series of the name Bishr; that of Marwān, however, is already known from a coin (in the Masson Collection)¹ of his famous brother 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, the fifth Umayyad Caliph (A.H. 65-86).

Some of the facts of history regarding this governor are worth assembling here. His full name was Abū Marwān Bishr ibn Marwān. While still a young man (*حديث السن*), in charge of the troops in Egypt, he was appointed by his elder brother 'Abd al-Malik as governor of Kūfa in the year 71, after the death of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair who had been in revolt against the Caliph. It is interesting to note in passing that there accompanied him to 'Irāk as tax-collector Mūsā ibn Nuṣair, afterwards famous for his exploits in North Africa and Spain. In the year 73 when Khālīd ibn 'Abdallah was deposed from the governorship of Baṣra, the position was given to Bishr in addition to Kūfa. He thereupon took up his official residence in the former of these two important garrison cities (*miṣrān*), and left 'Amr ibn Ḥuraith as his representative in Kūfa. 'Irāk in those troublous times required a strong ruler. Bishr, unfortunately, while he is lauded by the poets of the time

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1850 p. 312; *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 167.

as a patron of the arts and a prince of *bon viveurs*, lacked, however, the essential military equipment for the task of administering such a turbulent province. The constant source of apprehension in those days centred in the numerous religious sectarians, principally the Azāriqa, a branch of the *Khawārij*, who were in open rebellion on the Persian frontier. One of the first official duties Bishr had on assuming control at Baṣra was, on the receipt of a dispatch from the Caliph, to send troops from Kūfa and Baṣra to assist the very able general Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra to suppress the insurgents. Bishr, however, being jealous of Muhallab—possibly because the latter's commission to subdue the rebels proceeded direct from the Caliph and not from himself as governor of that region²—only partially carried out his orders, and in consequence, placed the issue of the campaign in jeopardy. In these circumstances it was perhaps fortunate for the success of the Umayyad cause that Bishr suddenly died. At all events, after a short period of chaos, in which the government troops deserted *en masse*, the capable general Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf was appointed with full power over “the two ‘Irāqs”,³ and disaster was averted.

Tabarī⁴ quotes the historian Wāḳidī as dating the death of Bishr in 73, but the testimony of the majority of the annalists is for the year 74/75 (A.D. 694), and the date on the present coin is, moreover, contemporary

² وشقّ على بشر أنّ امرأة المهلب جاءت من عبد الملك فاوغرت
 صدره عليه حتى كآته اذنب اليه (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Leiden Text,
 iv, p. 297).

³ *Kitāb al-Imāma* (Cairo Text), ii, pp. 48, 95.

⁴ Leiden Text, ii, 852.

corroboration of the fact. For other historical data concerning Bishr, reference may be made to Caetani's *Chronographia Islamica*, p. 885, and to Père Lammens's article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

There remains the problem of the mint-name. The Pehlevi letters composing the mint syllable which occur not only on the coins of the Arab governors but also on regular issues of the Sassanian monarchs from Fīrūz I to Ardashīr III, have been read as ZD. Thomas⁵ however, read RD or BD. Mordtmann⁶ regarded the mint as Zadrakarta, which according to Arrian was the capital of the ancient province of Hyrcania on the southern shores of the Caspian. The occurrence, however, of this mint-name on this unique coin of Bishr, who was governor of 'Irāk for the short space of barely four years before his early demise, seems to preclude the possibility that coins were minted in his name so far away from his known sphere of influence. It is, therefore, most unlikely that Mordtmann's identification is correct.

De Morgan,⁷ on the other hand, while he considered Mordtmann's rendering admissible, offered an alternative equation namely ZD = *Zaitān* (زيتان) a town between the Persian Gulf and the city of Arrajān. Although, geographically, this identification is nearer the zone of probability than that of Zadrakarta, yet, philologically, it is weak. Indeed if one must venture to surmise, one

⁵ *J.R.A.S.*, 1850, pp. 291, 317, 324.

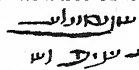
⁶ *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 17 f.; 1879, p. 120.


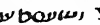
⁷ *Rev. Num.*, 1913, p. 506; not *Zitān*, however, as transliterated by Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, p. 189. Yāqūt (s.v.) definitely gives it as the dual of *Zait*. De Morgan also suggested, *ibid.*, p. 521, that the letters ZD might form the beginning of the title of a *marzubān*, or provincial governor of the Sassanian empire.

might as readily, and more reasonably, suggest the name of Zādhikān (زادكان), which is mentioned by the Arab geographer Iṣṭakhrī as a town in the province of Jibāl.⁸ But there is insufficient data to warrant such a conclusion, and so, for the present at any rate, the significance of the letters, like that of so many more of the mint signatures on Sassanian coins, must remain an enigma.

(2) 'UBAIDALLAH IBN ABĪ BAKRA (عبيد الله بن ابي بكر).

At 1.25; wt. 62.1 (4.02 grms). [Pl. IX. 2.] [Thorburn Coll.]

Obv The usual bust of Sassanian type facing r.; in field, r. downwards  AUBITALA-I-ABUBKRAN in field, l. downwards, AFZUT and monogram; outside, marginal legend, in second quarter, بسم الله, in third quarter, ربي (i.e. in the name of Allah, my Lord).

Rev. The usual fire-altar with attendants; in field, r. downwards, mint name  YZD, i.e. Yezd; in field, l. downwards, date,  YACH HFTAT, i.e. 71.

This governor's full name was 'Uбайдallah ibn Abī Bakra ibn Masrūh. De Goeje, in his edition of Ṭabarī (ii. 799) points his name as Ibn Abī Bukra, and refers to the *Asad al-Ghāba* v. 151, yet in the same edition (ii. 1033, 1037, 1042, 1046, 1049, 1184) he distinctly points the name as Bakra, which is the usual reading. (Ahlwardt: *Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, p. 310 *et passim*, likewise punctuates as Abī Bukra). The consonantal form given on the coin could represent either pronunciation:

⁸ See references in P. Schwarz: *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, v, p. 670.

The first mention we have of him in history is at the court of the Caliph Mu'āwiya in the year 60, accompanied by a son of his about whose gluttony an anecdote is preserved in Ibn al-Athīr (iv. 7-8). In the following year (A.H. 61) he was the deputy (نائب) for 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād in Baṣra while the latter was in Kūfa. In this capacity he was ordered to advance against the Khawārij, or religious sectarians, who were in revolt. The next mention of him is in the year 70 as one of the friends of Khālīd ibn 'Abdallah (Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 252). About this period was the famous struggle for the control of Irāk and the eastern provinces between the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair. A rising of the Jufriya in Baṣra was instigated by 'Abd al-Malik (70/71), and we are told that among them was 'Ubaidallah [Ṭabarī, ii. 799]. Both Ṭabarī (ii. 801) and Ibn al-Athīr (iv. 253) record about this time the terms of abuse uttered by Muṣ'ab against 'Ubaidallah and other adherents of Khālīd.

After the downfall of Muṣ'ab we next hear of 'Ubaidallah disputing for the governorship of Baṣra with his former ally, Ḥumrān ibn Abbān, who seized possession of the city. 'Ubaidallah retired to the Caliph's headquarters at Kūfa to press his claim. 'Abd al-Malik decided the matter by investing Khālīd with the governorship of Baṣra, and 'Ubaidallah was sent on ahead as his vicegerent (خليفة) [Ṭabarī, ii. 817-818; Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 274]. This was in the year 71, the actual date on our coin.

As we have mentioned above (p. 285) Khālīd was deprived of his office in 73 to make way for the Caliph's younger brother Bishr, and no doubt with him went


'Ubaidallah. But his career was by no means at an end. Following the death of Bishr and the successful rule of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, 'Ubaidallah was destined to come once again into prominence. In the year 78 when Ḥajjāj appointed Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra over Khurāsān, he made 'Ubaidallah governor of Sistān [Ṭabarī, ii. 1033; Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 362]. His military expedition in that region against the ruler of Kabul, which turned out so disastrously, has a special chapter allotted to it in Ibn al-Athīr under the year 79.⁹ His death is recorded in the following year, and Ḥajjāj nominated 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ash'ath in his place, and supported him with a new contingent recruited from Kūfa and Baṣra, the so-called "army of the peacocks" (جيش الطواويس) [Ṭabarī, ii. 1047; Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 365-7; Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 399]. In view of the above facts Zambaur¹⁰ is scarcely justified in including his name among the governors of Sind. I have been unable to find any express mention of such an appointment in the historians and certainly not in Balādhurī (*ibid.*, pp. 431-446) to which Zambaur refers. Caetani (*op. cit.*, p. 943) gives further references to him not only as an Umayyad governor, but also as a traditionist and a "follower" (*tābi*), or disciple, of one of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. He records his death under the year 79.

(3) ṬALḤA IBN 'ABDALLAH (طلحة بن عبد الله).

(i) R 13; wt. 61.2 (3.97 grms). [Pl. IX. 3.] [Thorburn Coll.]

⁹ iv. 363 (sic) ذكر غزو عبید الله بن ابی بکر رتبیل

¹⁰ *Manuel de Chronologie*, p. 279.

Obv. The usual bust of Sassanian type facing r. : in field r. downwards  TLHA-I-APDULAAN in field, l. downwards, AFZUT, and monogram; outside, in second quarter, marginal legend ط ل ه ا.


Rev. The usual fire-altar with attendants; in field r. downwards, mint-name YZD, i.e. Yezd; in field, l. downwards, date CHHAR HFT(AT), i.e. 74.

(ii) *R* 1.3; wt. 61.5 (3.99 grms.) [Pl. IX. 4.] [B.M.]

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above, but date clearer CHHAR HFT(AT), i.e. 74.

(iii) *R* 1.25. [Pl. IX. 5.] [Capt. M. F. C. Martin's Coll.]

Obv. As above, but different portrait, and with small circle around middle pellet of necklace; in first quarter of margin, countermark .

Rev. As above, but date blundered at end.

These are the only three specimens so far known of this new governor. According to Ṭabarī (ii. 818) the rival Caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair removed Jābir ibn al-Aswad ibn 'Auf from office, and appointed Ṭalḥa ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Auf in his stead as governor of Medina.¹¹ This was in the year 71. This may be the same Ṭalḥa as the one in whose name these coins were struck. He was, therefore, the last *wālī* to be nominated by Ibn al-Zubair over Medina until Ṭarīḫ ibn 'Amr, the *maulā* of Othmān arrived. The latter governed for the


¹¹ Zambaur (*ibid.*, p. 24) mistakenly gives his name as Ibn 'Ubaidallāh. Ahlwardt, *op. cit.* (p. 37), does likewise and in consequence confuses him in the index with the famous Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubaidallāh who along with Zubair and 'Ā'ishā rose in revolt against 'Alī. The *Anonymous Chronicle*, above quoted, also records the interesting detail that our Ṭalḥa was given the sobriquet of *al-Nadā*, "the Dew" (يَعْرِفُ بِطَلْحَةَ النَّدَى) presumably on account of his liberality.

victorious Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik. Ṭalḥa we are told fled on his approach. All further trace of him is lost apart from these three coins dated three years later. If indeed they are to be ascribed to him, then we may surmise that he followed the fortunes of Ibn al-Zubair until the latter's downfall and death in 73.

The obverse marginal legend *Ṭalḥa lillah* is of interest, not only because it confirms the reading of the Pehlevi name, but also because it is a change from the conventional *Bismillah* or *Bismillah rabbī* formulae. Literally it means *Ṭalḥa* (belongs) *to Allah*, but it is an Arabic idiom for *Bravo Ṭalḥa!* or *How excellent is Ṭalḥa!* It is a recognized Semitic method of expressing admiration by attributing the object of esteem to God. There is the well-known instance in the Old Testament in the story of Jonah (iii. 3) of the ironic use of this idiom. The words "*Nineveh was an exceeding great city*" is literally according to the Hebrew Text "*Nineveh was a great city to god*" (עִיר גְּדוֹלָה לְאֱלֹהִים).¹² Moreover, these are the earliest coins on which this use of الله is found, although it is very common afterwards on the coinage of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs from the time of Amīn (A.H. 193-198 = A.D. 809-813) onwards.

(b) *A remarkable Arab-Sassanian dirham with Mint and Date in Arabic.*

AR 1.25; wt. 48.7 (3.16 grms). [Pl. IX. 6.] [Coll. of D. D. Dickson, Esq.]

Obv. The usual bust of Sassanian type facing r.; in field, r. downwards  KHUSRU (between name and face, note curious additional symbol); in field, l. downwards, AFZUT

¹² Wright's *Arabic Grammar* (1898), ii. 150; also *Psalms* 36¹⁰, 80¹⁰, *Cant.* 8⁶.

and monogram; outside, divided among the four quarters, marginal legend; بسم الله | لا اله الا الله | وحده محمد | رسول الله

Rev. The usual fire-altar with attendants; in field, r. downwards, mint-name دمشق (i.e. Damascus); in field, l. downwards, date (*sic*) أربع وسعين (i.e. 74).

This unique coin is remarkable for several reasons, chiefly because it is only the second¹³ example so far published of an Arab-Sassanian dirham with mint and date in Arabic instead of Pehlevi. It is also a year older than the earliest dated dirham of the mint of Damascus, viz. A.H. 75, which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹⁴ and which is of the new reform coinage of 'Abd al-Malik with Arabic legends only. The marginal formula is also noteworthy because it antedates a similar one on the dirhams of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, whose name is traditionally linked with the story of the change over from the Arab-Sassanian to the pure Arabic type of coinage. Many years ago Nesselmann¹⁵ described a similar type of dirham also of the Damascus mint, but with a not quite legible date, which he read as ثلث وسعين (i.e. 73). Mordtmann,¹⁶ however, disputed this on the grounds that this date was more than twenty years later than that of any other coin inscribed with the name of Khusrau, and so suggested reading ثلث وأربعين (i.e. 43), although he was careful to observe

¹³ It is the first ever illustrated.

¹⁴ Lavoix, *Cat.*, pl. II, no. 184.

¹⁵ *Die Orientalischen Münzen des Akademischen Münzcabinets in Königsberg*, Leipzig, 1858, p. 12. The division of the marginal legend, however, is different بسم الله | لا اله الا الله | وحده محمد | رسول الله. I have been unable to verify this, however, but if it is so, it is the early type of legend division and would therefore accord with an earlier date than 74.


¹⁶ *Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 465.

that the presence of the marginal legend which only occurs elsewhere on the coins of Ḥajjāj, seemed to support Nesselmann's interpretation. The present coin therefore tends to confirm this, since an engraver who could shape the اربع of the first part of the date so clearly, was not likely to confuse "seventy" (سبعين) with "forty" (اربعين).

What then are we to make of this remarkable coinage? As we have seen, this rare marginal legend is known on the coins of Ḥajjāj minted at Bishapūr and dated (in Pehlevi) 77, 78, 79 and 80. Did Ḥajjāj copy this formula from these earlier coins of Damascus dated 7(3) and 74? Or was he responsible for them as well? We know that several Arabic historians preserve statements to the effect that Ḥajjāj struck dirhams (by order of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik) in or about the year 74¹⁷. We also know that he was in Syria on a visit to the Caliph about this time following on his crushing defeat of the rival Caliph 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair¹⁸. So it is not at all improbable that the present coin is an example of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf's minting experiments carried out at the Caliph's request in the Syrian capital. Whether this be the correct interpretation or not, this coin is at any rate an important link in the evolution of early Muḥammadan coinage.

(c) *The dirhams of 'Aṭīya* (الدِّرَاهِمُ آلْعَطَوِيَّةُ).

(i) *Æ* 1.25; wt. 60 (3.88 grms.) [Fig. 1.] [B.M.]

Obv. The usual bust of Sassanian type facing r.; in field r. downwards,  ATIYA-I-ASUDAN. In field l. downwards AFZUT and monogram; outside, in second quarter, marginal

¹⁷ See Lane-Poole's summary of Sauvaise's *Matériaux* in *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 70 ff., where the varying accounts are collected.

¹⁸ Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 882.

legend **بسم الله ولي الامر**; in third quarter **۱۳** AU; in first quarter countermark **۱۱**.

Rev. The usual fire-altar with attendants; in field r. downwards, mint name **کرمسان**, KRMANAN (i.e. Kirmān); in field l. downwards, date **۷۲۵** DUHFTAT (i.e. 72).

Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.* 1879, p. 107) gives one of same date, wt. 3.6 grms.



FIGS. 1, 2, 3.

(ii) \mathcal{R} 1.3; wt. 63.3 (4.1 grms.) [Fig. 2.] [B.M.]

Obv. As above, but marginal legend partly obliterated by countermark **Ω** which is repeated in fourth quarter; in first quarter uncertain countermark; no Pehlevi legend in third quarter.

Rev. As above, but date **۷۵** PNCHFTAT (i.e. 75).

(iii) \mathcal{R} 1.2; wt. 54.2 (3.51 grms.) [Fig. 3.] [B.M.]

Obv. As above, but without countermarks.

Rev. As above, mint name simply KRMAN.

I understand from Mr. Howland Wood that there is a specimen in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society, but the date is not very clear. The coin in the Vienna cabinet described by Mordtmann (*ibid.* 1854, p. 171, no. 872) as issued by 'Abdallah ibn 'Abdallah is really a coin of 'Atiya of the above mint and date. Krafft [in *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur, Anzeigebblatt*, 1844, vol. 106, pp. 20-21 (fig. 5)] published presumably the same specimen but failed to decipher the governor's name. He considered the most probable reading to be Hathiba-i-Ejjuban.

The three coins, which are here illustrated, came from the Steuart Collection and were presented to the British Museum in 1848. They have already been partially described first by Thomas, and afterwards by Mordtmann, but the governor's name caused considerable difficulty and was never satisfactorily elucidated. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.* 1850, pp. 318-319) read the Pehlevi characters as *انهاي اپدولان* (i e. *ATHA-I-APDULAN*) and suggested that it might be a blundered rendering of Umaiya ibn 'Abdallah, whose name is already known from the coins of this series. Some years later in the same periodical (1871, p. 433) he proposed to read *اتزا هشران* (*ATZA-I-HISHRAN*). Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.* 1854, p. 170) felt himself baffled by the first name but followed Thomas's first article in reading the second line as ibn 'Abdallah (*ابن عبد الله*), although a comparison with other coins on which this name undoubtedly occurs would have shown the difference. But in 1879 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 107) Mordtmann came almost within sight of the correct rendering when he suggested for the first name 'Otbah (*عتبة*) and 'Atib (*عتيب*), while for the father's name he proposed to read on his specimen

Asudan, which he equated with either اسود or اسود. Having got so far he had to admit that he was unable to find any name in the annals of the period that would fit any of the suggested readings. It is very strange that so great a scholar should have passed over a very significant passage in the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr which, as I shall indicate, supplies us with the solution. Writing of a certain commander-in-chief of the *Khawārij*, or religious sectarians, named 'Aṭīya ibn al-Aswad, Ibn al-Athīr records one of those choice items of information which are, alas, so few in the numismatic history of the past. Here is the passage: *And he came to Kirmān and there minted dirhams which he named 'Aṭawīya (dirhams).* [i.e. dirhams of 'Aṭīya.]¹⁹

The same tradition occurs also in slightly different language in the *Anonymous Chronicle* published by Ahlwardt.²⁰ Time, place, and name coincide with the numismatic data, thus giving us unimpeachable evidence that these particular coins, which have proved so troublesome to decipher, are in fact none other than the long-lost dirhams of 'Aṭīya (الدرهم العطوية).

Let us then collect what few historical facts have come down to us regarding this new governor, whom we must now add to our lists. His full name was 'Aṭīya ibn al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī. We first hear of him, about the year 69, being sent to 'Umān by Najda ibn 'Āmir, the leader of the *Khārijite* rebels in Yemāma. The place was then in the possession of a great *Shaikh*

¹⁹ iv. p. 167. وَأَتَى كِرْمَانَ وَضَرَبَ بِهَا دِرَاهِمَ سَمَّاهَا الْعَطَوِيَّةَ.

²⁰ p. 135. وَأَتَى كِرْمَانَ وَضَرَبَ دِرَاهِمَ كَانَ يُقَالُ لَهَا الْعَطَوِيَّةَ.

named 'Abbād ibn 'Abdallah, whose two sons, Sa'īd and Sulaimān, were exacting tribute from passing ships and from the neighbouring lands. When 'Aṭīya arrived there was a fight in which 'Abbād was killed, and 'Aṭīya became ruler of that region. After some months he went off leaving behind as his representative a man named Abu-l-Ḳāsim. The people of 'Umān, headed by Sa'īd and Sulaimān, rose against the latter and slew him. 'Aṭīya was thereupon forced to return, but failed to regain control of the place. In the meantime a difference of opinion between him and Najda²¹ led to his severing all connexion with the Khārijite party in Arabia, and taking ship he sailed for Persia, finally reaching Kirmān.²² There, as a usurping governor, he issued these dirhams, which we have been considering, between the years A.H. 72-75.

As we mentioned above (p. 286) the general commanding the great Umayyad offensive directed against the Khārijite rebels in Persia about this time, was Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra. The latter sent an expeditionary force against 'Aṭīya, who was forced to flee, first of all to Sīstān, and then to Sind, where Muhallab's cavalry encountered him at Ḳandābīl [the modern Gandāwa in Balūchistān] and slew him. It is also reported that it was the Khawārij who put him to death. It is interesting to compare the narrative of Ibn al-Aṭhīr with that of the *Anonymous Chronicler*.

²¹ This was before the year 72 in which Najda was killed by Abū Fudaik, who took possession of Baḥrain (Ṭabarī, ii. 829). The reasons for 'Aṭīya's quarrel with Najda are recounted in *I.A.* iv, p. 169; *Anon. Chron.* pp. 142-3.

²² *Arabice* Karmān, from the ancient Carmania.

I.A.

Anon. Chron.

فارسل اليه المهلب جيشًا فهرب الى سجستان ثم الى السند فلقية خيل المهلب بقنذابيل فقتله وقيل قتله الخوارج	فيقال أن المهلب بعث إليه جيشًا فلقى بسجستان ثم صار إلى السند فقتلته خيل المهلب بقنذابيل ويقال أن الخوارج قالوا له هاجر فقال أنا مهاجر على ديني فقتلوه. ²³
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The latter gives the additional detail concerning 'Atīya's end. When the Khawārij said to him: *Come out* (and show yourself a true Khārijite, he said: *I am* (already) *out on account of my Faith*. Then they killed him.²⁴

The marginal legend (بسم الله ولي الأمر) merits a passing notice, since it is a formula that has appeared, so far, only on the coins issued under this new governor. It may be rendered as *in the name of Allah the Protector of Authority*. It was a common slogan of the Khawārij that all authority belonged to God (لا حكم الا لله). It is not surprising then to find 'Atīya expressing his theocratic views in such a way. As for the counter-mark لله on coin no. 1, reference may be made to page 292 above for its significance.

J. WALKER.

²³ I have omitted Ahlwardt's punctuation of the Arabic text.

²⁴ I owe this interpretation of the rather obscure Arabic phraseology to my friend Dr. A. S. Tritton who has given me the advantage of his knowledge of the intricacies of the theological squabbles of the period.

XX.

HOARD OF BARBAROUS RADIATE COINS FROM MERE, WILTS.

[SEE PLATES X-XI.]

THIS hoard of 100 barbarous radiate coins, found about 1870 at Mere, Wilts., has recently been submitted to the British Museum for examination. As these imitations are easier seen than described we illustrate them on two plates, obverses, 1-100 [Pl. X], reverses, 1-100 [Pl. XI].

Nos. 1-18 and 27 show imitations of the rev. of Tetricus II, **PIETAS AVGVSTOR**, sprinkler, simpulum, lituus, jug, knife (C. 58 ff.), sometimes degenerating into a mere pattern. Only one, no. 10, shows a clear obverse reading, . . . **TRICVS P F V** (?) . . . ; its rev. has a string of clear but unintelligible letters; one rev., no. 4, reads **PI . . . AVG**.

Nos. 19-26 show imitations of the rev. of Tetricus I, **PAX AVG**, Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre (C. 95 ff.), nos. 28-31 imitations of the rev. of Tetricus I, **SPES AVGG**, Spes advancing l., holding flower and raising skirt (C. 163 ff.), nos. 32, 33 imitations of the rev. of Tetricus I, **HILARITAS AVGG**. Hilaritas standing l., holding long palm and cornucopiae (C. 53 ff.), nos. 34, 35, imitations of the reverse of Tetricus I, **LAETITIA AVG**, Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor (C. 70 ff.): no. 34 reads **IMP TETRICVS A** . . . on obv., **LET . . . AV** retrograde on rev. Nos. 36-38 are imitations of the rev. of Victorinus, **INVICTVS**, Sol. advancing l., raising r. hand and holding whip:

star l., in field (C. 46 ff.): no. 36 reads PIATO (?) on obv., IN . . . on rev., no. 37 has X l. in field, no. 38 shows Sol r. and star r. in field. No. 39 is an imitation of the rev. of Tetricus I, FIDES MILITVM, Fides standing l., holding two standards (C. 37 ff.).

Nos. 40-54 show imitations of various figure reverses, none quite certain: no. 41 has X r. in field on rev., no. 49 shows only the feet of the rev. type.

Nos. 55-57 might be copied from the jug of the PIETAS AVGVSTOR type or from figure reverses; no. 57 has X r. in field on rev.

Nos. 58-63 show rather more notable reverses: no. 58, a soldier advancing r. to spear foeman (?), no. 59, figure standing r., holding spear and wreath, no. 60, figure standing r., holding sceptre and † (?), no. 61, figure standing l., holding sceptre and branch, no. 62, figure standing l., holding spear, no. 63, two figures—a taller on l., standing l., holding long palm, a shorter on r., standing l., one hand on the palm, short sceptre in the other (obv. PRO . . . A).

Nos. 64-69 show what are probably imitations of the posthumous type of Claudius II, CONSECRATIO, Altar (C. 48 ff.); nos. 70-73 are less certainly to be derived from the same source.

Nos. 74-99 show a number of more dubious reverses; nos. 74 and 81 are probably imitations of the rev. INVICTVS, Sol l. No. 74 has X l. in field of rev., no. 83 has X (?) on rev. No. 100 is apparently quite blank.

It is doubtful if there is a single genuine original in the 100: no. 35, perhaps, is an exception. The size varies from about 0.3 inches (7.5 mm.) up to about 0.65 inches (16.5 mm.), the weight from about 3 gr.

(0.19) to 18 gr. (1.17 gm.). The smallest coins are true "minimi", tiny pieces on tiny flans, with little but the radiate crown to connect them with the age of Tetricus. An occasional specimen, such as no. 14, shows a head, curiously like very early Anglo-Saxon.

Was this hoard really buried in the age of Tetricus I? Or is it to be placed much later—in the post-Roman period—when a community depending for currency on the wrecks of the Roman occupation had nothing but a few imitations of Tetricus and Claudius II to begin on, and added to them its own characteristic minuter pieces? On the strength of the smaller pieces, especially no. 14, we incline to the latter view.

H. MATTINGLY.

XXI.

GEORGE CYRIL BROOKE

WE regret to record that George Cyril Brooke, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., Deputy Keeper of Coins in the British Museum died on October 11, 1934. Born in 1884, he was educated at Westminster as a King's scholar and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of which he was also a scholar. He took the Classical Tripos I and II and gained the Browne Medal in 1905 for a Latin epigram. Dr. Brooke, who took his M.A. in 1919 and Litt.D. in 1930, always retained a great affection for Cambridge and particularly for his old College; he was for many years Secretary of the Corpus College Association. Dr. Brooke entered the Department of Coins in the British Museum in 1908 and became Deputy Keeper in 1932. From 1916 to 1921 he was lent to the Liquor Control Board where he revealed a talent for administrative work unusual in one whose tastes are academic. Specializing in the English series of coins which had never received the scholarly attention it deserved, he did much to raise its study to the level of the classical branches of numismatics. For the British Museum he prepared the *Catalogue of Norman Coins*, a work of considerable research and scholarship which set a new standard in English numismatics. He also prepared the English section of the *Guide to Historical Medals* (1924). It was, however, in a long series of papers published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* that most of his original work was published. Outside the Museum he edited the

third and posthumous volume of the Marquess of Milford Haven's great book on *Naval Medals*, and contributed a valuable chapter on English coinage to the Oxford volume on *Mediaeval England*. In 1932 appeared his *English Coins*, a singularly complete handbook of English coins, fully illustrated from specimens selected with great care. For the last three years he had been engaged on a Catalogue of the Ancient British Coins in the Museum, and had published a paper on chronology of the series in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1933, which showed how valuable this work would have been to British archaeology in general. At the time of his death Dr. Brooke was a member of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and of the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society, Vice-President of the British Numismatic Society; he was a former President of the Kent Numismatic Society. He had been an editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle* since 1913, and had recently taken over the editorship of the *British Numismatic Journal*. He had on several occasions represented the British Museum at the Annual Meeting of the Museums Association and other congresses and was English representative on the International Numismatic Commission.

The following bibliography shows the vast amount of work done by Brooke on English coins. A few notes on some of the more important items may be given. The British Museum Catalogue of Norman Coins set a new standard in the study of English medieval coinage. The catalogue part of it is the least important. The information gathered from other public and private collections makes the book a corpus of the coins of the period. The lists of mints and moneyers are

peculiarly valuable and the use made of epigraphy and of hoards for chronological purposes was new and important. A feature of the book was the historical study of the irregular issues of the period.

The handbook of English coins published in 1932 is really a synopsis of a larger work on the scale of Ruding for which Dr. Brooke had been collecting material for many years. In one volume Dr. Brooke has given a singularly full account of the coinage of England in a way which makes it invaluable to the collector. Special attention was devoted to the choice of illustrations.

Among papers in the numismatic periodicals, that on the coins of William I in 1911 is a most important exposition of Brooke's method of study of dies and the results to be derived from it. The same volume contains the account of the East Raynham find of nobles with a more accurate classification of the gold coinage of Edward III which is, with slight alterations, still in use. In 1929 a hoard of nobles from Horsted Keynes enabled Brooke in two papers to throw a great deal of light on the coinage of Henry V and its privy marks. These two papers show the great minuteness and accuracy with which Brooke conducted his study of dies and punches. One of his last papers was that on the Philippus in the West in which he traces the history of the use of Macedonian gold in Western Europe and Britain and laid the foundations for a new chronology of the Ancient British Series. Of the papers in the B.N.J. special mention may be made of that entitled *Quando Moneta Vertebatur* which throws a new light on the meaning of this expression on the coinage of medieval England.

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"Treasure Trove", xx, 279-89.

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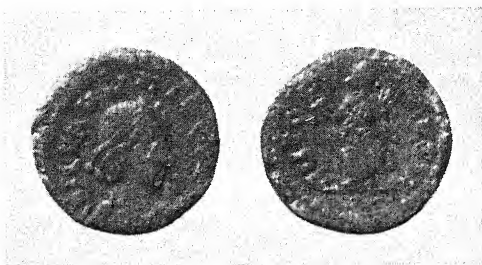
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J. ALLAN.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

MISCELLANEA.



ON A COIN ATTRIBUTED TO "PAVUNIUS".

In the *Second Report on Richborough*, p. 226, I described a coin (No. 19315) of a new Augustus, whose name I then read as "Pavunius". The module and the reverse type are those of the *Single Victory* or Gallic series of $\text{Æ} 4$ struck in the reign of Theodosius I; the inscriptions are blundered, but parts of the usual reverse legend are quite clear, including the final **AVGGG**. The mintmark is blundered also, but appears to imitate that of Lyons. This detail, however, has no bearing on the question of where the piece was struck. Somewhere near the Rhine frontier is most likely, but Trèves was issuing very little bronze from which to copy, whereas the output of the southern mints was plentiful.

The second letter of the name on the obverse appears on further examination to be as like **R** as **A**, and the three upright strokes which I formerly read **NI** may represent **M**. It is therefore tempting to restore the name as **PRVVMVS**, and to connect it with the following passage in Prosper Tiro's *Chronicon* relating to nearly the same period in which the coins of this type were being struck. He says:—

"Incursantes Pictos et Scotos Maximus strenue superavit. Priamus quidam regnat in Francia, quantum altius colligere potuimus."

The Francia of that date must have been between the Rhine and Elbe. "Priamus" was perhaps the only possible equivalent for the name that a writer of Latin could think of. The Carausius II group of coins probably came from the same region at a somewhat earlier date, and the first Carausius was a Menapian. It was this similarity with recorded names which formerly led me to adopt the reading **PAVVNIVS**, recalling the gentile name of the Gallic emperor, M. Piavonius Victorinus. F. S. SALISBURY.

A HAMPSHIRE HOARD.

ACCORDING to a note in my possession there was dug up in the year 1869, at Barley Pound, Crondall, Hants, a hoard of about 300 Roman coins of the latter half of the third century. It appears that nothing was done with it for some time, but it, or the greater part of it, was purchased in 1873 or 1874 by Mr. Hawgood, a furniture dealer in East Street, Farnham, where I saw a number of the coins, probably more than 200, and became a purchaser of many of them. The trays had already been somewhat picked over, but there still remained *antoniniani* of Postumus and his Gallic successors, other than Laelian and Marius, and perhaps 25 or more of Carausius and 7 or 8 of Allectus. Several of the legitimate emperors were represented. I remember coins of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, some I think Gallic, a very few of Quintillus and, to the best of my belief, a very few of Aurelian and Probus.

The condition was fairly good, many of the coins showing the rough green deposit which is very often noticed in British finds, and the prices charged were within the capacity of even my youthful pocket—from sixpence for a coin of Claudius up to two shillings for one of Allectus or a fine one of Carausius. I think that most of the coins were of usual types with one exception. I found among those of Carausius, and purchased, the now well-known coin which bears the legend **GENIO BRITANNI** (M. & S., vol. v. 2, p. 485, no. 241). It afterwards passed from my hands into those of Mr. F. W. Lincoln and Sir John Evans.

P. H. W.

ERRATA.

Coinage of the Z.A.R.

- P. 188, lines 4 and 7, *for 1894 read 1892*
- P. 201, line 7 from foot, *for Copper penny pieces at 21 marks per 1000 pieces read . . . at 40 marks per 1,000 pieces*
- P. 205, lines 2, 4, 7, 14, *for no. 6 read no. 12*
- P. 206, line 3, *for Oranje Vrystaat read Oranje Vry Staat*
- P. 211, top line, *for Half-Crown 1894 read Half-Crown 1892*
penultimate line, *for Figs. 13 and 14 read Figs. 13 to 23*
- P. 214, column headed 2s. 6d., line 1892, *for £2,057 read £2,037*

J. T. B.

REVIEW.

Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore: Vol. III, Coins of Nādir Shāh and the Durrānī Dynasty. By R. B. Whitehead, Oxford, 1934, pp. lxx + 195. Plates XV and a map. Price 32s.

This volume contains the coins struck by Nādir Shāh and the rulers of the Durrānī dynasty at mints in Afghanistan and India, that is, at mints of the Moghul Empire. The collection in Lahore is a large one, thanks to the acquisitions made from the Bahawalpur State Treasury where Mr. Whitehead discovered over 50,000 mohurs and half a million rupees of the period. To make the work as complete as possible Mr. Whitehead has included all the coins he has been able to discover in public and private collections in India, Europe, and the U.S.A. The result is a very full numismatic commentary on a very interesting and complicated century in the history of North West India. The first section of the *Catalogue* describes 66 coins of Nādir Shāh struck at Moghul mints on his Indian campaign, and the second 1,250 coins of the Durrānī dynasty. The arrangement follows that of the *Catalogue of Moghul Coins* in Lahore. A historical introduction is followed by an account of the legends and metrology of the coins. Then come detailed histories of each mint with numerous notes on particularly interesting coins.

As was only to be expected, this volume in every way maintains the high standard set by Mr. Whitehead in his earlier volumes. From the historical point of view it is one of the most important Catalogues of Indian Coins yet published, and it is to be hoped that the value of the varied research in it will be duly appreciated by historians who are too apt to overlook the evidence of coins. It is in just such a period as this when coins were most promptly struck as proof of sovereignty on capturing a mint that coins can yield important historical and chronological data. We would call special attention to such new coins as those of Sulaimān son of Ahmad Durrānī, Humāyūn son of Tīmūr, and Shāhpūr brother of Fath Jang, all Mr. Whitehead's discoveries. The book contains many other illustrations of the close association of coinage and sovereignty in the Muslim mind. As one reads the introduction one gets some idea of the vast amount of gold carried off from India by Nādir Shāh. But gold was

only one element in the wealth of the Moghul Emperors; their wealth in precious stones was incredible, as may be seen from the lists of stones in the Imperial Treasury now being published by Mr. Abdul Aziz in the *Journal of Indian History*. These lists make Anand Ram's estimate of the loot of Delhi at six million rupees in specie and 500 million in jewels seem quite probable. The scattering of this vast wealth, which might have benefited Persia considerably, had however no lasting economic effects; the great gold coinage of Nādir Shah and of Ahmad and Timur of the Durrani dynasty was destined to be hoarded again. In the early part of the nineteenth century gold began to disappear from currency; where it went we see from the Bahawalpur Treasury which is probably only one of many such hoards.

There are few aspects of the history of the period on which Mr. Whitehead does not throw some light. The vast amount of new material about mints and inscriptions will be particularly valuable; it is a book which no student of this troubled country of eastern history can neglect. Nādir's career aroused great interest in Europe—he was said to be a European adventurer—and the list of books about him is a long one. Mr. Whitehead's *Catalogue* will be not the least valuable of these, while for the much-neglected Durrānī period his work will form the foundations upon which future students will build.

The text of the book is a singularly handsome product of the Oxford Press, and the plates by McLagan & Cumming, particularly the coloured portrait of Nādir, are admirably done. In conclusion we must express our gratitude to the Panjab government for setting an example which we hope will again be followed by the government of India in making accessible its numismatic treasures.

J. ALLAN.

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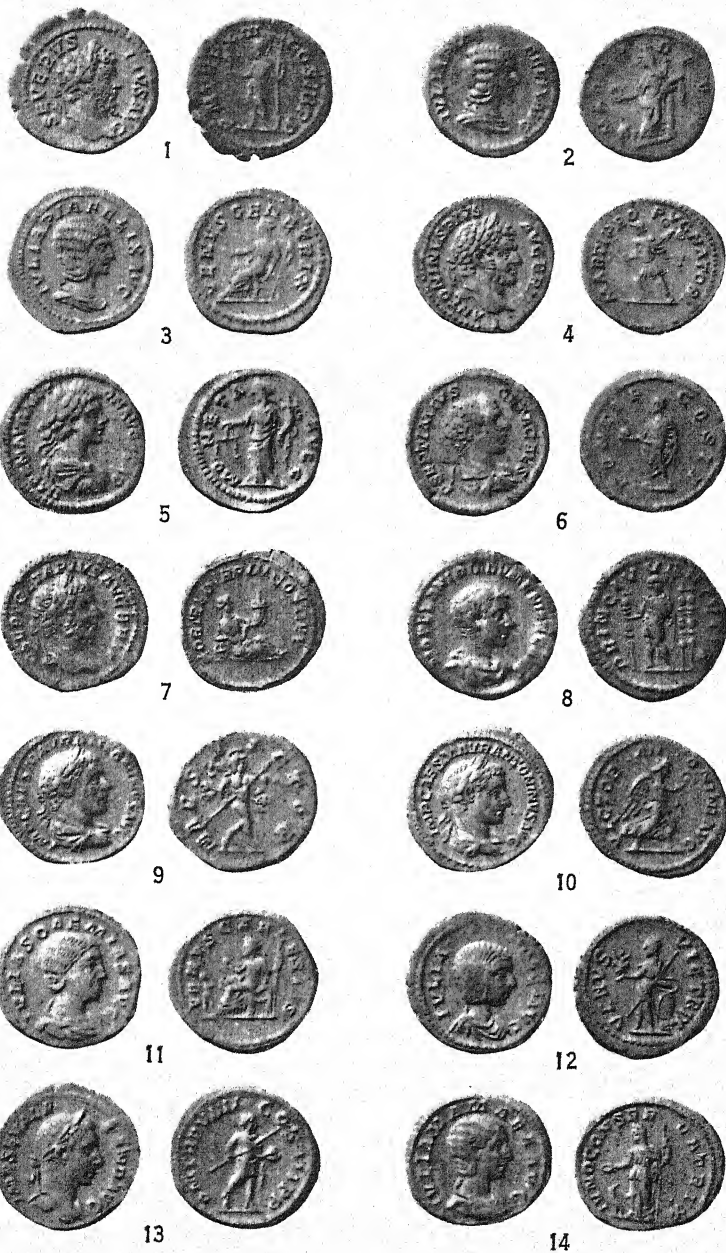


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A FIND OF COINS OF THASOS. 1



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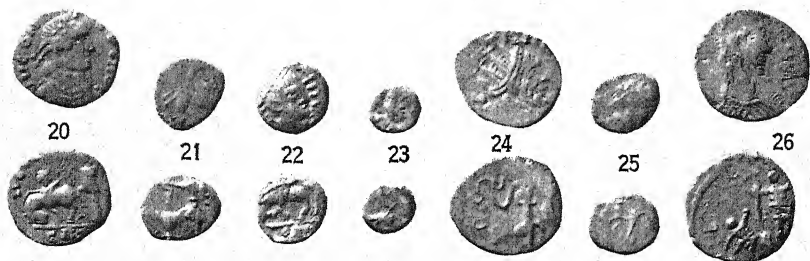
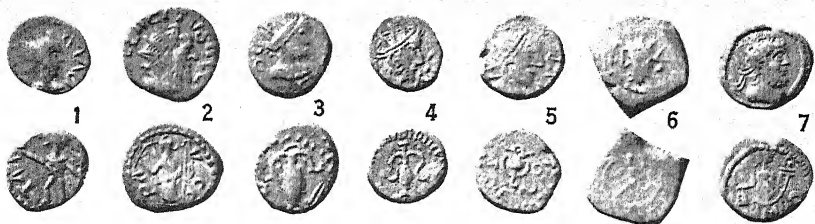
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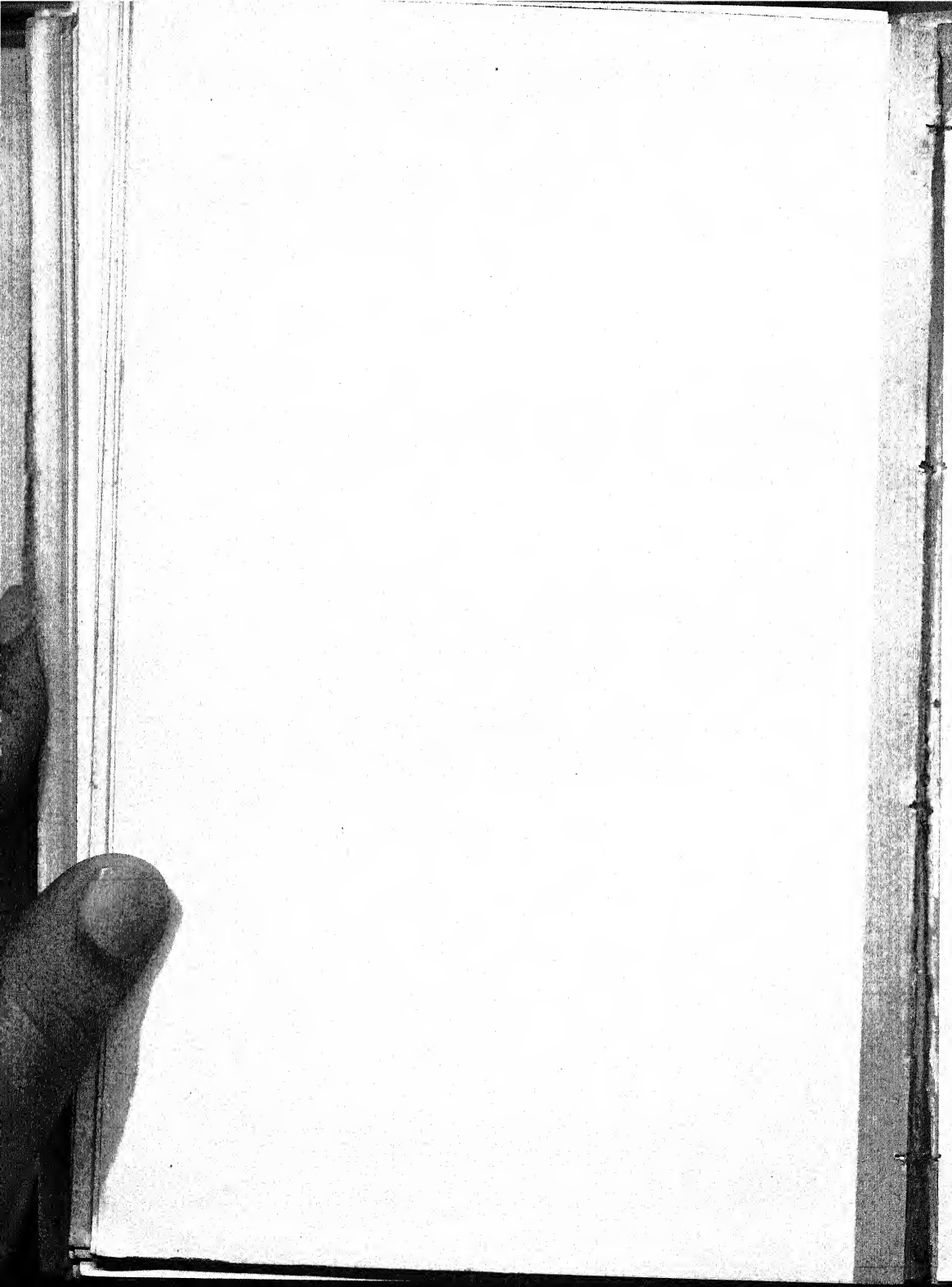
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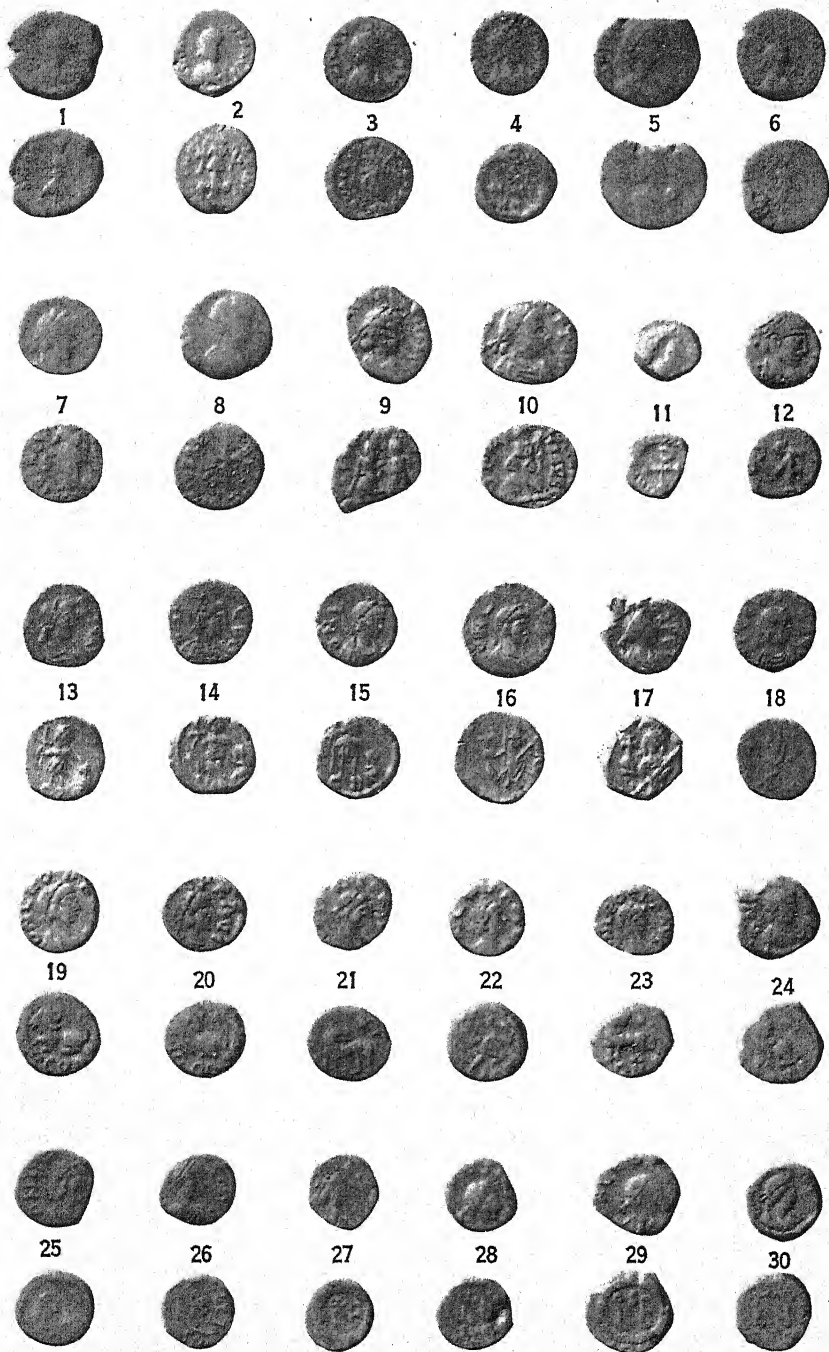




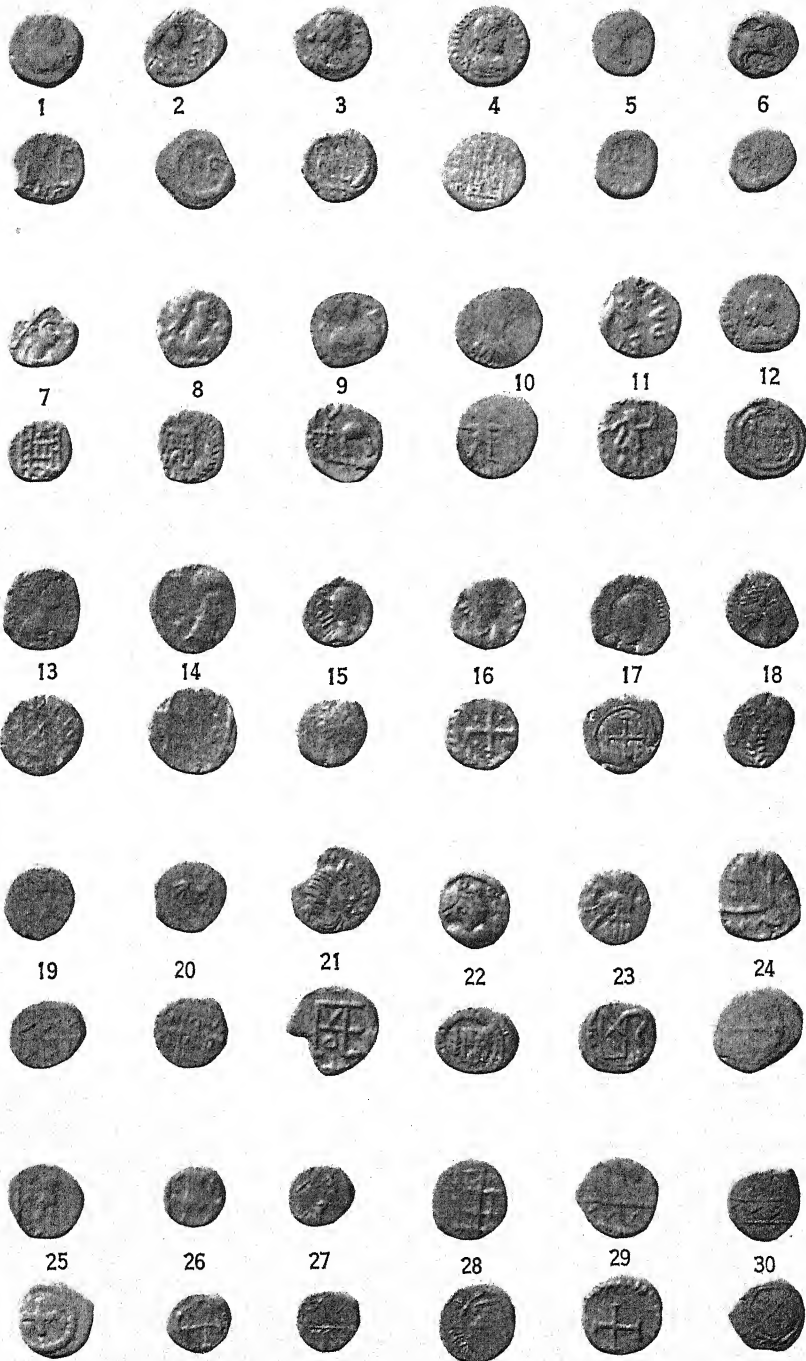


COLCHESTER (1-13), ICKLINGHAM (14-23).
DUSTON: BARBAROUS ROMAN COINS (24-26)





A DALMATIAN HOARD. 1



A DALMATIAN HOARD. 2



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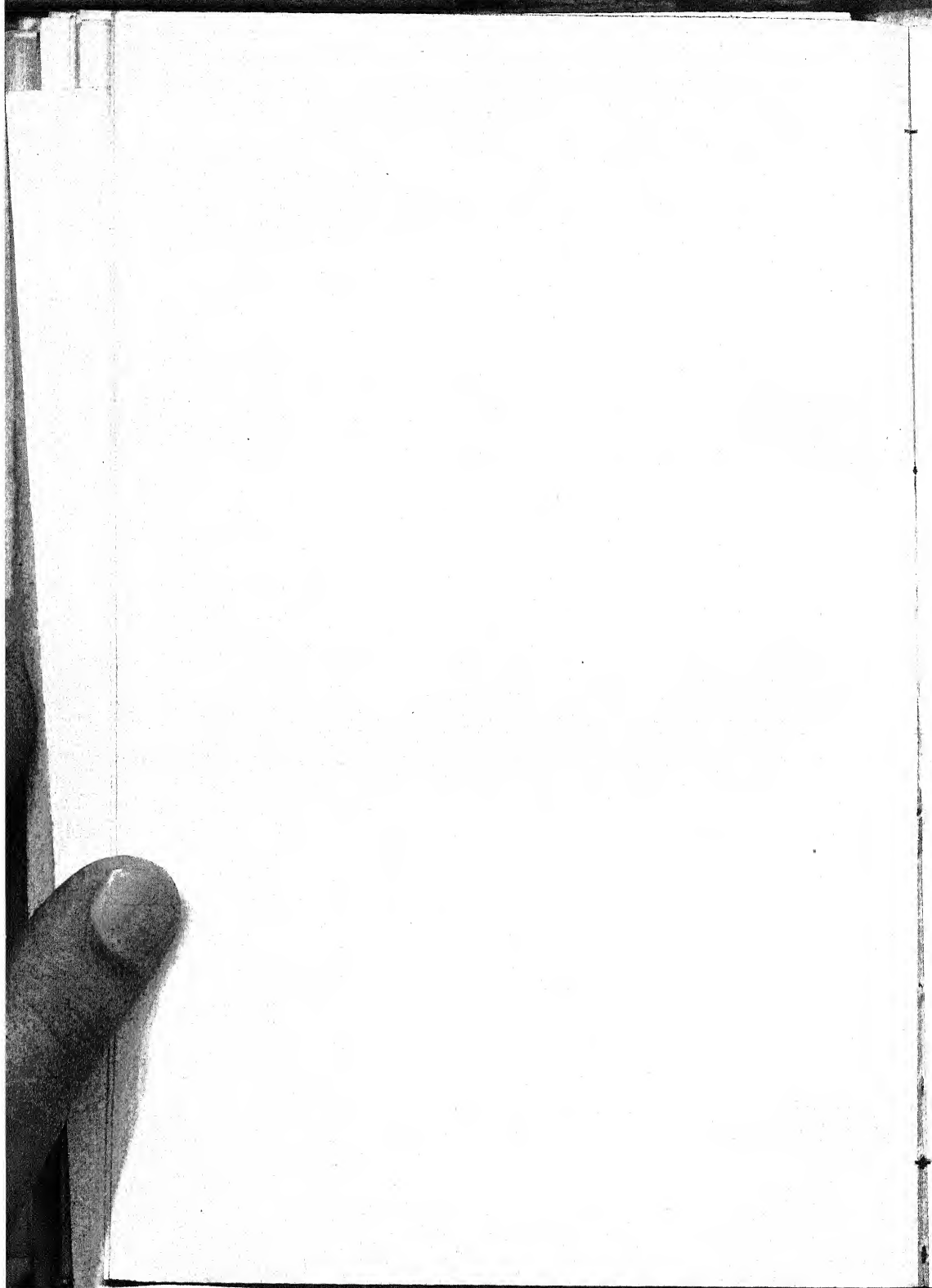


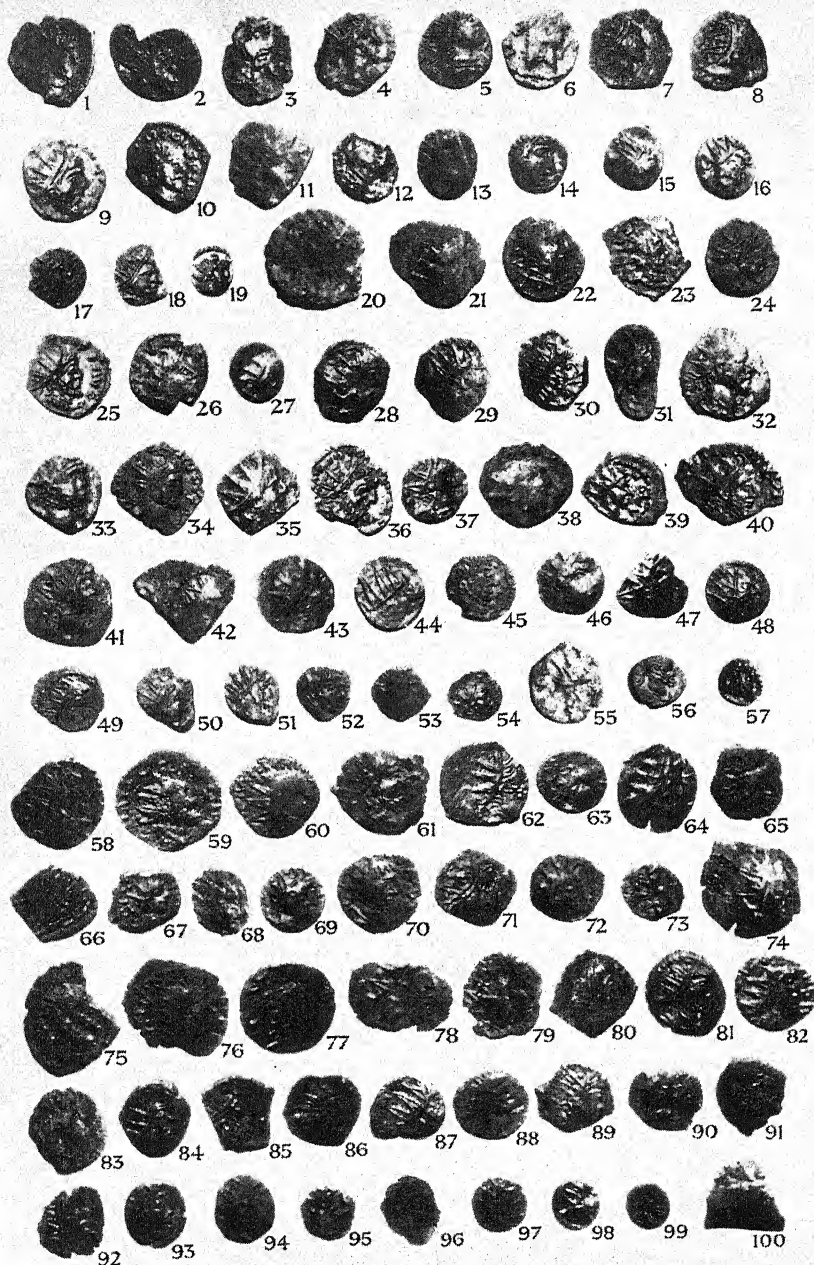
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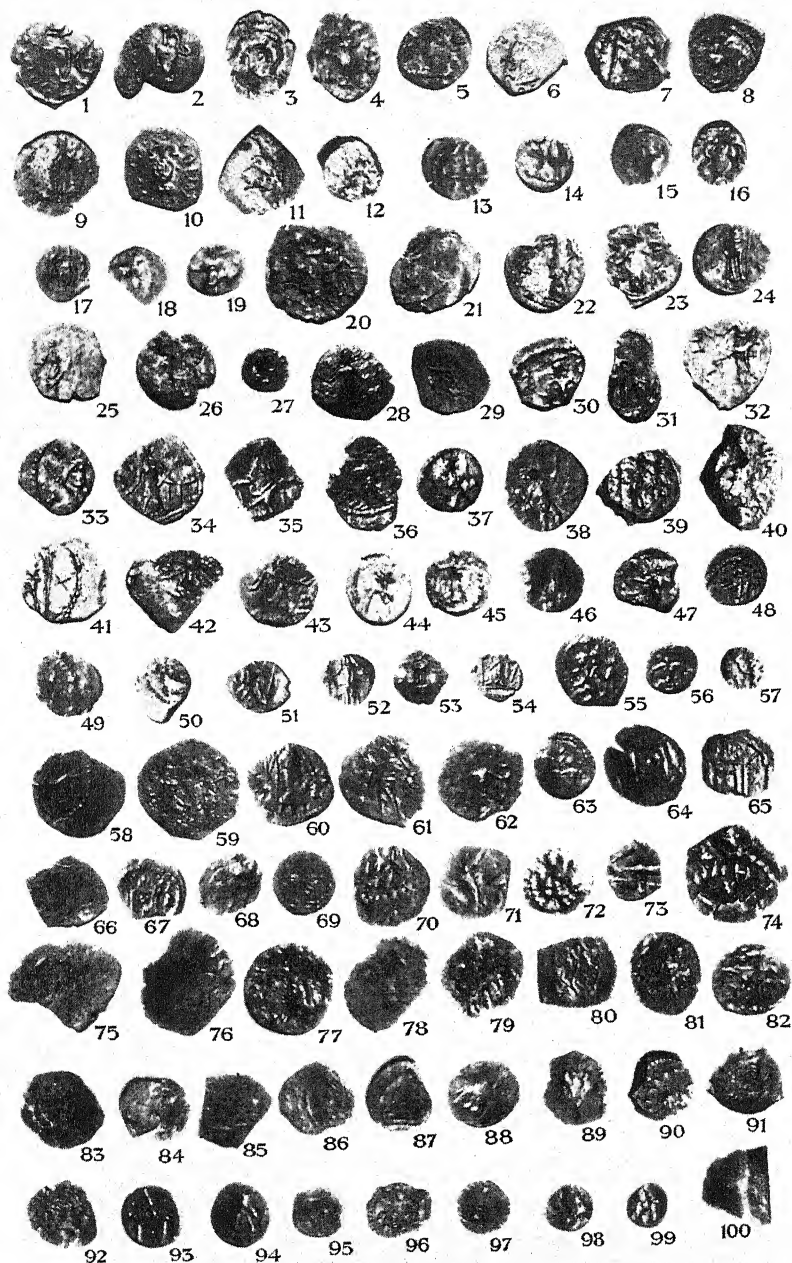
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MERE HOARD (WILTS.) OBERSES



MERE HOARD (WILTS) REVERSES

LIST OF FELLOWS
OF THE
ROYAL
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
1934

PATRON

HIS MAJESTY THE KING

LIST OF FELLOWS

OF THE

ROYAL

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

1934

*The sign * indicates that the Fellow has compounded for his annual contribution : † that the Fellow has died during the year.*

ELECTED

- 1920 ABBOTT, GEORGE HENRY, Esq., B.A., M.B., C.M., 185 Macquarie Street, Sydney, N.S.W.
- 1931 ADCOCK, PROFESSOR, F. E., O.B.E., M.A., D.LITT., King's College, Cambridge.
- 1907 ALLAN, JOHN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., *Keeper of Coins and Medals*, British Museum, W.C. 1, *Hon. Secretary*.
- 1933 ARMITAGE, T. W., Esq., Trent Lock, Sawley, Derby.
- 1917 ATKINSON, DONALD, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., The University, Manchester.
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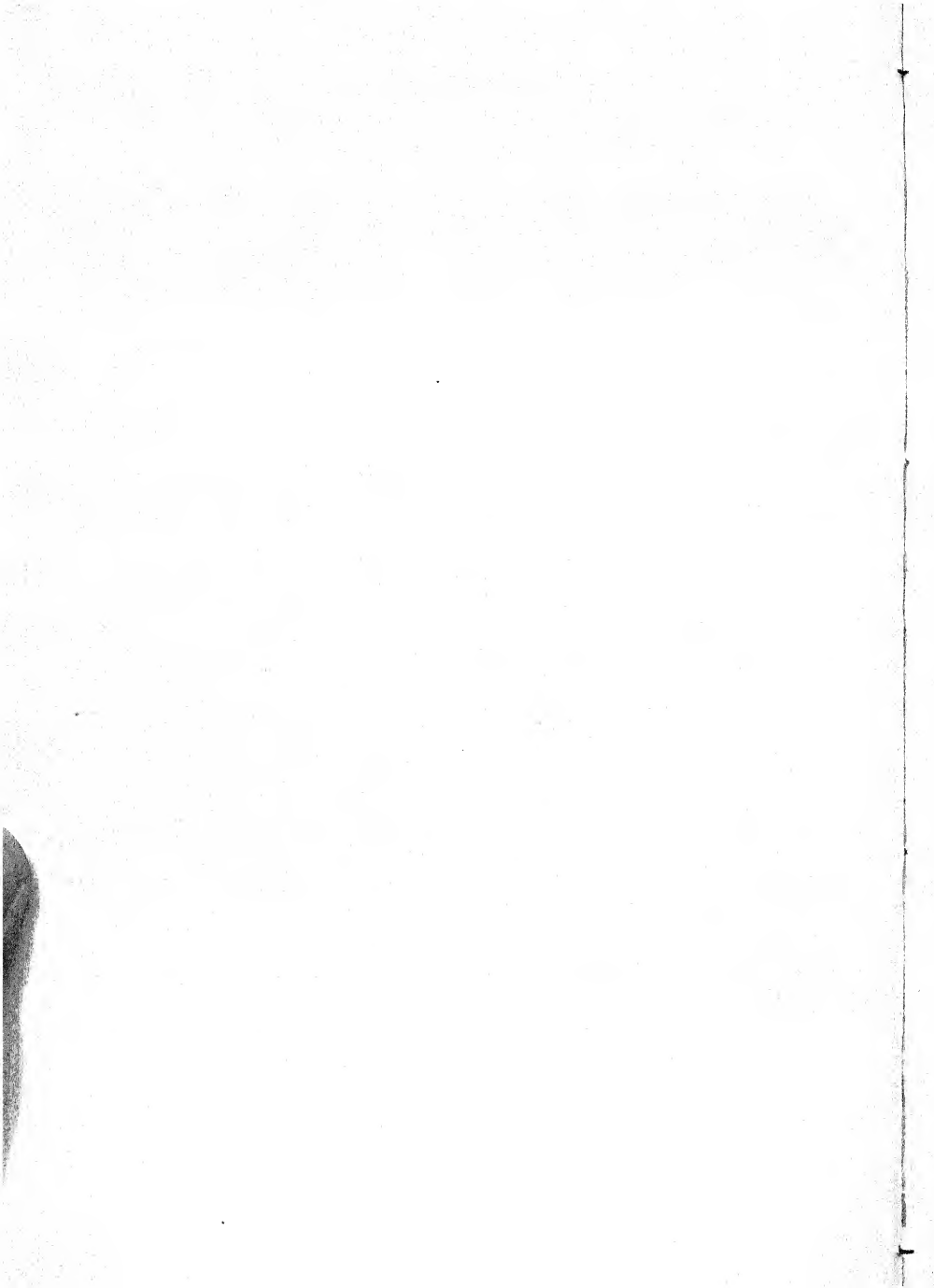
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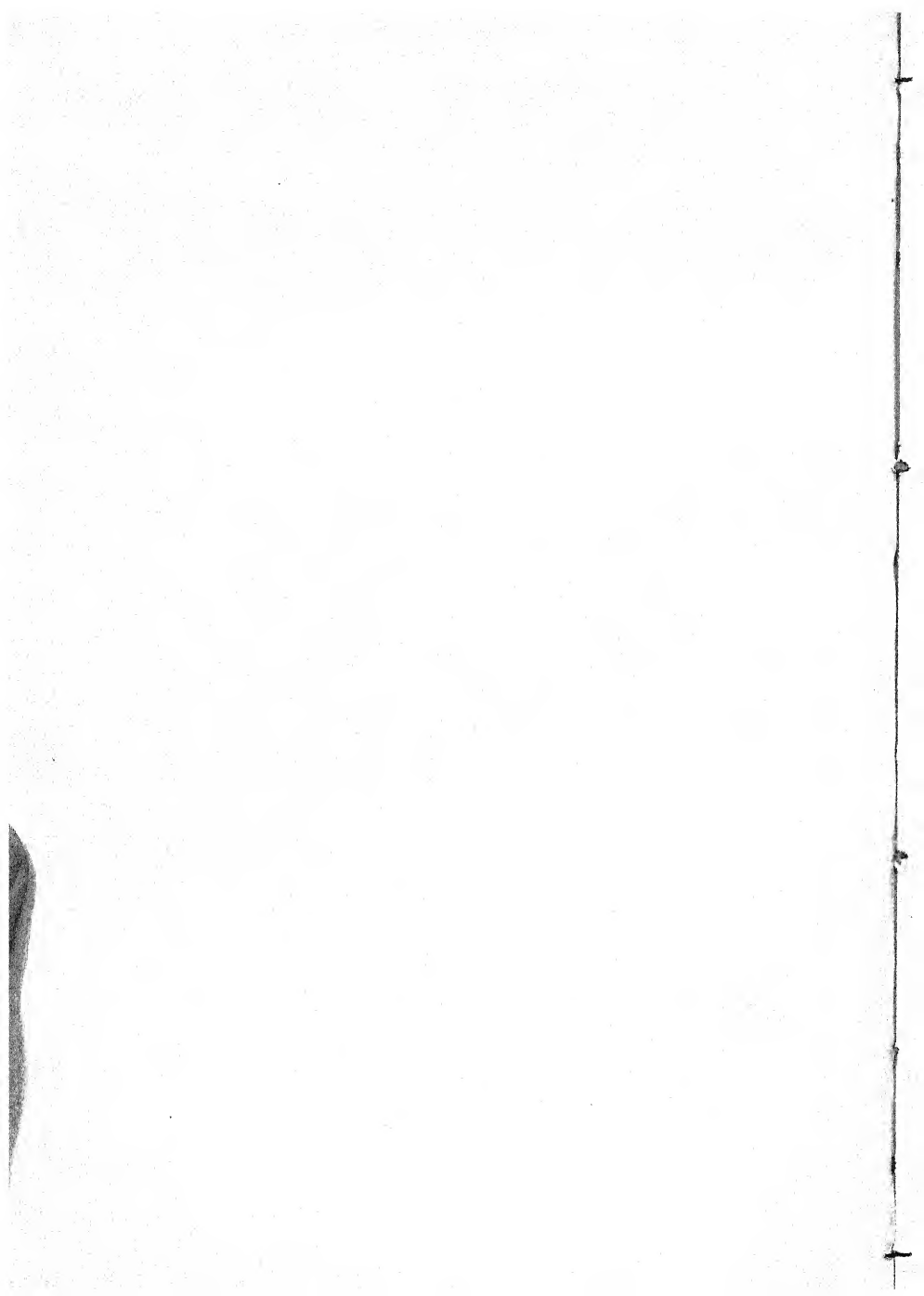
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- 1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1910 DR. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.
- 1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.
- 1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.
- 1913 GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
- 1914 JEAN N. SVORONOS, Athens.
- 1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.
- 1916 M. THÉODORE REINACH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1918 Not awarded.
- 1919 M. ADRIEN BLANCHET, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX, Esq., and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, Esq.
- 1921 PERCY H. WEBB, Esq.
- 1922 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1923 PROFESSOR J. W. KUBITSCHKE, Vienna.
- 1924 HENRY SYMONDS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1925 EDWARD T. NEWELL, Esq., New York.

ELECTED

- 1926 R. W. MACLACHLAN, Esq., Montreal.
1927 M. A. DIEUDONNÉ, Paris.
1928 SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.B.A.
1929 MONSIEUR JULES MAURICE, Paris.
1930 REV. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A.
1931 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.
1932 H. NELSON WRIGHT, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
1933 DIREKTOR PROFESSOR KURT REGLING, Berlin.
1934 GEORGE CYRIL BROOKE (posthumously).



PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1933—1934.

OCTOBER 19, 1933.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the meeting of May 18 were read and approved.

Messrs. William Royle Baldwin, O. H. Myers, Kenneth L. Roberts, Allan Sutherland, and G. Wüthrich were proposed for election as Fellows of the Society.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited the following coins struck to commemorate the Fourth Centenary of the Colonization of Brazil, namely: Silver Two Thousand Reis; Aluminium Bronze Thousand Reis and Five Hundred Reis; Nickel Four Hundred Reis; Two Hundred Reis, and Hundred Reis, all dated 1532—1932.

Sir Charles Oman exhibited seven coins of Maximian struck after his first abdication, one consecrationary.

Mr. William Gilbert showed an aureus of Valerian (Cohen 261). *Rev.* VIRTUS AVGG (wt. 36 grains).

Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing, F.S.A., showed some new types and varieties of the antoniniani of Carausius.

Mr. H. P. Hall showed a bronze medallion of Maximian.

The Rev. E. A. Sydenham read a paper on "The Vicissitudes of Maximian after his abdication". The elaborate system of Diocletian broke down badly at its first trial. In the election of new Caesars, Constantine and Maxentius had been neglected, and neither was willing to accept the slight unchallenged. The result was prolonged discord and

civil war in the course of which the aged Maximian, who had been chafing in retirement, tried on three separate occasions to return to active politics. Mr. Sydenham drew attention to the chronological difficulties presented by the authorities, and suggested how the coins could help in their solution. Coins of Maximian struck after his retirement are usually distinguished by the epithet S(enior) Augustus, and a study of the appearance of such coins at the mints enables us to keep some check on the movements of Maximian. The progressive fall in the size of the follis can be used effectively for purposes of dating. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

NOVEMBER 16, 1933.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Messrs. W. Royle Baldwin, O. H. Myers, Kenneth L. Roberts, Allan Sutherland, and G. Wüthrich were elected Fellows of the Society.

Mr. H. W. Taffs showed a series of Rosa Americana coins and a number of early American cents and half-cents, dimes and half-dimes.

Mr. H. P. Hall exhibited the following rare Roman coins:—

1. Sestertius of C. Gallius C. F. Lupercus struck on an unusually large flan. Æ 1.75 in., wt. 487.3 grs.

The die used was materially larger in diameter than the normal size, viz. 1.6 in. as against about 1.35 in.

2. Sestertius of the same, of normal size, wt. 394.5 grs., diam. 1.38 in.

3. Quadrans of Claudius struck on unusually large flan, diam. 1.1 in., wt. 163 grs.

4. Quadrans of the same, of normal size, wt. 39 grs., diam. 0.75 in.

5. Denarius of Quintus Cornuficius (*B.M.C. II*, 578, 28).

Obv. Bust of Africa r. draped and wearing on her head elephant's skin; behind her shoulders two spears.

Rev. Quintus Cornuficius in augur's dress holding lituus in r. hand, standing facing, crowned with wreath by Juno Sospita standing l.; she wears the goat's skin on her head, long robe and sandals, and is armed with spear and shield, on the latter stands a raven; around and in the exergue **Q. CORNVFICI AVGV R IMP.**
Struck in Africa, 44-42 B.C.

6. Denarius of M. Arrius Secundus (*B.M.C. I*, 568, 4216).

Obv. **M. ARRIVS SECVNDVS** around the head of Quintus Arrius r., bare, slight beard.

Rev. A spear between a wreath on l. and a square ornament intersected by diagonals and surmounted by a tuft on r. Aurei of Elagabalus.

7. *Rev.* Quadriga conveying the conical stone, Elagabal, decorated with an eagle, a star in the field. **CONSERVATOR AVG.** (*Coh.* 16.)

8. *Rev.* **FIDES MILITVM.** Elagabalus and two soldiers. (*Coh.* 41.)

9. *Rev.* **PONTIF. MAX. TR. P.** Rome seated l. (*Coh.* 223 var.)

10. *Rev.* **VICTOR ANTONINI AVG** Victory running r. holding a palm and wreath. (*Coh.* 288.)

11. Aureus of Maximinus.

Rev. **VICTORIA AVG** Victory running r. holding a palm and wreath. (*Coh.* 98.)

Mr. G. C. Haines exhibited the following late Roman coins:—

Constantine I as Caesar (second brass).

Rev. **GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN** $\frac{|\ast|}{\text{KPI}}$.

Wts. 159 grs. (10·30 grammes).

Rev. **HERCVLI CONSERVAT CAES** $\frac{|\text{I}|}{\text{ST}}$.

Do. as Augustus.

Rev. **VIRTVS MILITVM** $\frac{|\text{I}|}{\text{PTR}}$ AR (from Arras find).

Magnentius.

Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITI $\frac{1}{TR}$ AR.

Anastasius II.

AR Solidus. Rare and very fine.

Mr. William Gilbert showed an aureus of Procopius, A. D. 365-366. (Cohen 5 var.) Weight 66.5 grains. Rev. REPARATIO FEL TEMP SMKA. Of great rarity and in mint condition.

Mr. C. J. Bunn exhibited a bronze medal by Albrecht Dürer of his wife Agnes Frey, and nine medals by Andrieu the French engraver.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., showed a number of Roman Republican denarii with marks of value X, XVI and *.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited the two types of the nickel 25 centavos of Spain, one not perforated, dated 1925, and the other with a central circular perforation, dated 1927.

Rev. E. A. Sydenham and Mr. H. Mattingly discussed the date of the denarius of 16 asses. The former gave the general grounds for the period of the Gracchi with a preference for Tiberius Gracchus, while Mr. Mattingly, identifying it with the *as Gaianus* referred to, as he thinks, by Brutus, a legal writer of the time, would put the date in the time of Caius Gracchus. (This discussion is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 81-91.)

DECEMBER 21, 1933.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Messrs. H. J. Dakers, Harold Haydn-Morris, and the Rev. Claude H. Heithaus were proposed for election.

Mr. Henry Garside showed a set of coins of Angola: nickel fifty centavos (two types) dated 1923 and 1928; twenty centavos (two types) dated 1921 and 1927; ten

centavos (two types) dated 1923 and 1927, and five centavos dated 1927; copper two centavos and one centavo both dated 1921.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited two coins from the Arras find:

1. Aureus of Constantius Chlorus, wt. 84 grs. (Cohen 306).
2. Aureus of Severus II (died 307), wt. 83.5 grs. (not in Cohen).
Obv. laureate, bust to right. SEVERVS PIVS FEL
AVG

Rev. Hercules—HERCVLI CONSERVAT AVGG ET
CAESS NN In ex.—TR

Cohen gives no coin with this obverse reading. The reverse is a variety of the reading of Cohen 48 (CONSERVAT instead of CONSER).

Mr. R. Cyril Lockett, F.S.A., exhibited two staters of Elis. (Seltman, Group C., 452-432 B.C., no. 100 and no. 117), and 20 Corinthian drachms from a recent find.

Mr. Mattingly read a paper by Mrs. Baldwin Brett on "The Arras Find" in which she gave an exhaustive account of all the aurei she had been able to trace to the find, and found reasons for suggesting a later date than previously thought for the burial of the hoard. (This paper is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1933, pp. 268-348.)

JANUARY 18, 1934.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, Messrs. H. J. Dakers, and Harold Haydn-Morris were elected Fellows of the Society.

Mr. H. Garside showed a silver 10-franc piece of 1931 and a 20 dinar (silver) of Yugoslavia 1931.

Mr. W. Gilbert showed an aureus of Avitus (Coh. 5) in fine state.

Mr. G. C. Haines showed a first brass of Postumus (*R. I. C.* no. 167).

The President exhibited two small coins of Crispina and Septimius Severus, sometimes thought to be third brass.

On behalf of the Duke of Rutland, Mr. B. H. S. O'Neil exhibited the Sproxton hoard of silver coins of the Theodosian period, and read a paper on it. (The paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 61-73.)

Mr. J. Allan read a paper by Sir George Macdonald on a hoard of some 2,000 Roman denarii found near Falkirk last summer. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 1-30.)

FEBRUARY 15, 1934.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Wiltshire was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited a solidus (Coh. 1) of Honoria, daughter of Constantius III (wt. 69 gr.).

Mr. H. Garside showed two types of the Austrian two schilling piece, one dated 1928, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the death of Franz Peter Schubert the composer, the other dated 1732-1932, the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Franz Josef Haydn the composer.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., exhibited a Newark 9d. showing remains of plate-rim, a shilling stamped with the royal arms, and a sixpence with the leopard's head hall-mark.

Mr. C. C. Oman read a paper on a Newark Siege piece bearing the royal arms, in which he showed that these must have been cut out of the royal plate, each piece of which was stamped with the royal arms. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 74-80.)

Dr. G. C. Brooke read a note on the "Coinage with Rose and Plumes", based on the Researches of Dr. Raistrick of

Armstrong College, in which he showed that these pieces were struck from silver supplied by the London Lead Company. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 51-56.)

MARCH 15, 1934.

V.B. Crowther-Beynon, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Vice-President, and later Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. R. G. Wiltshire was elected a Fellow of the Society, and Mr. J. T. Becklade proposed for election.

The evening was devoted to Exhibitions.

Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin exhibited a ryal of Mary 1553, a ryal of Elizabeth, m.m. scallop (1584-6); a ryal of James I, m.m. tower (1612); and sestertii of Nero, Coh. 287, in perfect state; and Nerva, Coh. 127, **PLEBEI URBANAE FRUMENTO CONSTITVTO**; and Trajan, Coh. 545; The Circus Maximus.

Mr. S. H. Fairbairn showed a number of medals of the French Revolution of the period of "The Terror", including portraits of Charlotte Corday, Robespierre, Lepelletier, Marat as "Philippe Égalité", medals of Lyons as 'Ville Affranchie', and an Anti-clerical medal in lead.

Mr. W. Gilbert exhibited an aureus of Volusian (Coh. 54), wt. 59.5 gr.

Mr. T. G. Barnett, F.S.A., showed a series of uninscribed and inscribed ancient British coins of the Western series.

Mr. H. Garside showed: (1) A New Zealand silver half-crown dated 1933. (2) A German silver five-Reichsmark dated 1483-1933, bearing the Muldenhütten mint-mark E, struck to commemorate the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, the founder of Protestantism and the Reformation. The edge of the coin

is inscribed: EIN FESTE BURG IST UNSER GOTT
(3) A Manchukuo bronze Fen and Half-Fen.

Mr. K. R. R. Readhead exhibited a William III shilling with plume beneath bust, and proofs of the crown of William III.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison exhibited a series of coins of Hungary.

Mr. H. W. Taffs showed two memorial medals and two plaques (silver and bronze of Charles I).

Mr. H. J. Dakers exhibited an unpublished Robert III half-groat of Perth of the aquiline face type. This half-groat corresponds to groat 398 E, Burns, vol. I, p. 301, and is of the last type used before the adoption of the light coinage and the closure of the Perth mint. Burns, on p. 334, says, "With these round face pieces (half-groats nos. 386 and 387) the half-groat series of Robert III seems to have terminated." The half-groat exhibited adds a new denomination to the last series of the heavy coinage.

Mr. Dakers also showed a bronze coin of Ancyra of Caracalla.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a half-groat of Edward III.

The obverse is from the die of a half-groat of Edward III similar to that numbered Series E. The reverse is from the die of a groat of the same Series E, but there is not sufficient of the legend visible to identify it further. The great interest of the coin lies in its having been struck from dies of two different denominations which differ so largely in size. The half-groat is about the size of the centre of the groat. In looking through the B.M. trays, Mr. Lawrence found another example of the same kind. There is there a halfpenny of Henry VI struck on the obverse from the farthing die. The obverse is very full but the reverse only shows the inner part of the legend. What were the *custodes cuneorum* doing to permit such proceedings?

Mr. P. Thorburn showed a series of coins of Georgia from Mongol to modern times.

Mr. C. J. Bunn exhibited a series of coins of Constant II (641-68).

APRIL 19, 1934.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. J. T. Beeklade was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a British Imperial silver sixpence dated 1887, with the initials J.E.B. (Sir Joachim Edgar Boehm) below the bust, and a French nickel five francs dated 1933, recently issued to replace the notes of the same denomination which have been used in France for twenty years. When the latter coins were put into general circulation they met with such acute criticism and ridicule owing to the unattractive-looking portrait on the obverse that the Government decided to cease minting them.

Mr. H. P. Hall exhibited an aureus of Mark Antony, LEG XIII.

Mr. H. Mattingly read a paper on "The Golden Age in Roman Imperial Coins".

He showed how Virgil, in his *Fourth Eclogue*, took up and elaborated the hope that was cherished of a new age of happiness to come, and how the fulfilment of the hope was seen, when Augustus celebrated the Secular Games in 17 B.C. The young head under the Julian star on coins of Augustus of that year represents Iulus, son of Aeneas, the founder of the Julian gens. The thought of the Golden Age, clothed more or less in the imagery of Virgil, haunted the imagination of Romans throughout the Empire. It is often associated with the kindred conceptions of the rebirth of Rome and of the Augustan Peace. Not only at the celebrations of "Ludi Saeculares", when a new age was formerly inaugurated, but on many other occasions—most commonly at the beginning of a new reign—the hope and promise of the Golden Age was invoked. Gallienus, whose son, Saloninus, bore the same name as that little son of Pollio, with whom the *Fourth Eclogue* was sometimes associated, used imagery of the Golden Age freely on his coins. As late as the fourth century, the great "Fel. Temp. Reparatio" issue of A.D. 348 and the "Gloria Novi Saeculi" type of Gratian, A.D. 368, are there to remind us that the ancient hope was still alive.

MAY 17, 1934.

Percy H. Webb, Esq., M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Messrs. William Gilbert and L. G. P. Messenger were appointed auditors.

Mr. Pierce Middleton was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited an aureus of Carausius (Cohen 39), wt. 73.5 grains, of great rarity and in splendid condition.

Mr. L. H. Rawson, by permission of H.M. Office of Works, showed a sestertius of Didius Julianus IMP CAES M DID SEVER IVLIAN AVG *Rev.* CONCORD MILIT; found on the site of the new post office at Chichester, 1934.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison exhibited a series of coins of Siam.

Mr. Henry Garside showed two Abyssinian nickel coins known in the country as the alati and roub. The alati is equivalent to fifty cents and the roub to twenty-five cents. Each denomination bears on the obverse a crowned bust of the Emperor Haile Selassie I looking to the right and on the reverse the lion of Ethiopia, namely a crowned lion passant guardant, holding with his right front foot a staff surmounted by a cross.

He also showed a Belgium silver Twenty Francs of the Flemish type dated 1933, issued instead of the large nickel Twenty Francs which was only struck in 1931 and 1932.

Mr. J. W. E. Pearce read a paper on Roman portraiture on silver coinage of the period A.D. 378-383. The art of the late fourth century does not indeed exclude variation in portraiture; every emperor, in fact, is presented in a number of distinct ways. But portraits vary so much that it is hard to imagine that they correspond at all closely to the life likeness, and portraits characteristic of one emperor seem to

be borrowed freely for his colleagues. A close study of portraits is beginning to make it possible to date issues otherwise only loosely datable; for example, the issues of Gratian after the death of Valens begin to fall apart from those that just preceded his overthrow by Maximus. Identities of reverse die form certain links between some portraits, which we should hardly associate so closely on general grounds of style.

JUNE 21, 1934.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Percy H. Webb, Esq, M.B.E., President, in the Chair.

Messrs. C. E. Blunt and L. H. Rawson were appointed scrutineers of the ballot.

Mr. Pierce Middleton was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following report was laid before the Society :

The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the death of the following Fellows :

W. Beamont Starkey.

Ernest H. Wheeler.

They have also to report the resignation of—

Percy J. D. Baldwin, Esq.

Joseph P. Dee, Esq., M.D.

The Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

Kenneth Rogers, Esq., M.D.

C. M. Spink, Esq.

T. H. Williams, Esq.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

YEAR ENDING

Dr.

THE SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH

	£	s.	d.
To cost of Numismatic Chronicles (four numbers)	349	3	0
„ Rent of Rooms	50	0	0
„ Printing, Postages, and Stationery	21	2	11
„ Sundries	6	5	0
„ Refreshments, &c.	4	11	1
„ Insurance	3	15	0
„ Lantern Expenses	3	0	0
„ Gas and Water	7	6	
	£488	4	6
„ Balance at Bank 31. 5. 34 carried forward—	£	s.	d.
General Account	301	6	11
Research Account	4	10	0
		305	16 11
	£744	1	5

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

31st MAY, 1934.

G. C. HAINES, HON. TREASURER.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>By Balance at Bank 1. 6. 33 brought forward—</i>						
General Account	200	13	9			
Research Account	4	0	0			
				204	13	9
„ Entrance Fees	14	14	0			
„ Life Membership Fee	31	10	0			
„ Subscriptions	315	10	6			
				361	14	6
„ Sales of Numismatic Chronicles				117	12	6
„ Dividends and Interest						
£200 5% Conversion Stock 1944-64 (N.B. Market price 116½ = £238 5s. 0d.)	10	0	0			
£942 London, Midland and Scottish Railway, 4% Preference Stock (N.B. Market price 65½ = £617 0s. 2d.)	32	19	5			
	42	19	5			
Less Income Tax deducted	10	14	10			
				32	4	7
„ Contribution towards Plates				7	10	0
„ Income Tax Recovered						
2 years ending April 5, 1934				20	6	1
				£744	1	5

G. C. HAINES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

WILLIAM GILBERT, }
LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER, } *Hon. Auditors.*

June 13, 1934.

On the other hand they have to report the election of the following eleven Fellows:

W. V. Royle Baldwin, Esq.	Kenneth L. Roberts, Esq.
J. T. Becklade, Esq.	Pierce Middleton, Esq.
H. J. Dakers, Esq.	Allan Sutherland, Esq.
Harold Haydn-Morris, Esq.	R. G. Wiltshire, Esq.
Rev. Claude Heithaus	G. Wüthrich, Esq.
O. H. Myers, Esq.	

The number of Fellows is therefore:

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1933	218	12	230
Since elected	11	—	11
	<hr/> 229	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 241
Deceased	2	—	2
Resigned	6	—	6
	<hr/> 221	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 233

The Treasurer's Report, which appears on pp. 14-15, was then laid before the Meeting.

The Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

The President then delivered the following Address:—

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

This year we are able to record a gratifying increase in our numbers and have only to regret the loss by death of Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler who became a Fellow of the Society in 1920 and was a life member, and of Mr. Beaumont Starkey who joined us in 1922.

Our work during the past year has consisted largely of short papers on short points, and I think that has not been to our disadvantage, for, if we have not made history, we have provided sound material for the future.

Among others I may mention a paper by the Rev. E. A.

Sydenham on the vicissitudes of Maximian Hercules ; notes by Dr. Milne on Romano-British Coinage and on the Aberdeen University Coins ; the publication by Mr. Messenger of several unedited Roman coins ; an account of a newly discovered Rajput gold coin by Mr. A. Ghose ; a short paper by Dr. Brooke, based on information supplied by Dr. Arthur Raistrick of Durham, on the Roses and Plumes coins struck from the London Lead Company's Silver in the eighteenth century ; and not least in interest, a paper by Mr. C. C. Oman on the coinage of the Royal Plate at Newark. May I quote Trebellius Pollio and say, as of Postumus the Younger "*qui se dignum patris moribus reddet*".

Mr. C. D. Sherborn has supplied a list of Byzantine coins which very usefully supplements the Museum Catalogue. Mr. R. B. Whitehead has published a short paper on the gold coins of the Sultans of Kashmir, which shows the great difficulties which face the historian of that State, and admits the failure, for once, of the coins to dispel them.

Accounts of numerous hoards have been laid before us. Of most individual importance was that by Sir George Macdonald of "by far the most considerable hoard of Roman coins which has ever been found north of the Tweed", which was dug up at Falkirk last year, and (fortunately preserved as treasure trove) forms the matter for a very valuable paper. There were nearly 2,000 coins commencing with one Republican denarius and terminating with coins of Alexander Severus and his Empress—say A.D. 235. Sir George considers them the result of years of hoarding by a thrifty Scottish family.

The Duke of Rutland kindly placed the Theodosian coins found on his lands at Sproxton over 100 years ago at the disposition of Mr. O'Neil, and a useful and even amusing paper has resulted therefrom ; amusing, for it publishes the "common hypothesis" put forward by the reverend gentleman who first secured the hoard "that the coins were deposited with the interred person to indicate his real or conjectured age". Mr. O'Neil also gave us a note on some remainders of the old Wroxall Theodosian hoard. Mr.

Mattingly dealt with the considerable find of nearly 1,000 denarii and antoniniani made at Selsey in 1932, and with a rather later hoard, about as numerous, found at Poole in 1930. Dr. Brooke described a Civil War hoard of nearly 1,900 coins found at Elland, in Yorkshire.

We have to thank our learned American Fellow, Mrs. Baldwin Brett, for an important paper on the Arras Hoard. Illustrated by five plates depicting some 90 aurei, it is a most valuable record of coins comprised in the hoard, but perhaps its greatest importance lies in the dissent which it expresses from the view as to the date of the deposit which Sir Arthur Evans has published, from his view as to the origin of the solidus, and from the attribution by Dr. K. Pink, in his paper in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, of certain coins which bear the mark PT. On all these points there is much to be said, and I should like to reserve my comment until we have the opportunity, for which I greatly hope, of reading the rejoinders of the two authors referred to.

Dr. Pink also contributed a paper to our *Chronicle* on de Saint Urbain, the forger, which conveys valuable information and, if I may say so, particularly deserves the epithet "readable".

Mr. Mattingly gave us a very suggestive discourse on the "Golden Age" of Rome, perhaps realized in the early days of the empire, certainly hoped for during the succeeding ages, but always lying just beyond the horizon. A fine series of slides illustrated the address and ranged from interesting and rare types of Augustus, through those celebrating secular games down to *Fel. temp. reparatio*, on which last mentioned type he had previously addressed us.

At the end of our session came a very important paper by Mr. J. W. E. Pearce on the coinage, and particularly the Imperial portraiture, from A.D. 378 to 383. Mr. Pearce has, in the last few years, opened to our view a new field for study among these apparently trite issues, and shown us that the history of Roman Coinage does not end with Constantine the Great. I look forward to a careful con-

sideration of this paper and its plates when it reaches our *Chronicle*.

I note with pleasure the large number of interesting coins which have been exhibited at our meetings. Messrs. Gilbert and Garside have been most assiduous, but nearly twenty Fellows have in this way contributed to our knowledge.

I apologize if I have treated our year's work somewhat more briefly than usual. With your leave I hope to occupy a little more of your time in discussing a matter which is, I think, of such great importance to those of us who study the Roman Series as to call for notice here.

Our views as to the dating of the Republican coinage of Rome have materially altered of late, and, as that alteration has been to a great extent brought about by papers which have not appeared in our *Chronicle*, I think it may be of assistance to our Fellows if I deal somewhat fully with the matter. The principal extraneous papers to which I shall have to refer are "The First Age of Roman Coinage" published by Mr. Mattingly in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1929, p. 19, and "The Date of the Roman Denarius" published jointly by the same author and Mr. E. S. G. Robinson in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xviii, 1933.

In order that those of us who have not closely studied the subject may grasp the full importance of the change sought to be effected I may perhaps be permitted to state shortly our previous knowledge and views.

The early coinage of the city of Rome and its dependencies falls into four categories namely:—

1. The bronze coinage, of which we need only deal with that of Rome itself.
2. The Romano-Campanian Series.
3. The Victoriatus Series.
4. The Denarius and its fractions.

The Janus-Oath gold issue falls into No. 2 and the Mars-Eagle gold into No. 4; both of them are rare.

1. THE BRONZE ISSUES of Rome consisted of:—

Aes rude, more or less convenient blocks of bronze,

transferred by weight, which were used in Italy from early times, and their development.

(a) *Aes Signatum*, bricks marked with some device, which were probably in use before and to some extent contemporaneously with (b) *Aes Grave*, circular cast pieces, of which, where of Roman origin, the asses bear for the most part on the obverse the double head of Janus, and on the reverse the prow of a galley¹. These pieces may be considered as the earliest circular Roman coinage. The series consisted of the *as* or *libra* and its fractions, the *semis*, the *triens*, the *quadrans*, the *sextans*, and the *uncia*. It is difficult to say what was the normal weight of the *as*, but it was considered to be divided into twelve parts. Some specimens which nearly reach twelve of our ounces are recorded, but the great majority of them weigh between nine and eleven ounces, and there is no doubt that the *as* very soon fell away from normal. Indeed it is possible that the original pound was, in fact, one of ten ounces.

In addition to this irregular decrease, the weights of the series were several times reduced by authority. The *libral* standard gave place to one which we know as "semi-libral", based upon an *as* of 6 or, more likely, 5 ounces. A reduction to 4 ounces was probably made officially, but even that weight was not long maintained, and it fell, regularly or irregularly, to some 3 ounces or less.

Then came an official reduction to 2 ounces—the *sextantal* scale—and, much later, the coin fell to 1 ounce. These coins were struck, not cast. Throughout all the changes the *as* retained its original types, and therefore was always distinguishable from its fractions.

The fact of these reductions is well established, but, as to their dates, and even that of the first issue of the series, there have been great differences of opinion.

Our ancestors accepted the statement of Pliny that bronze was first signed by Servius Tullius. Mommsen ascribed the

¹ Cf. Sydenham, *Aes Grave*, 1926, pp. 10 ff.

first issue of the cast circular as to 451 B.C.², Babelon and Grueber to 338, Haeberlin to 335; and the last named connected the reverse type, the prow, with the conquest of Antium in 338, when the beaks of the captured galleys were carried to Rome.

Sydenham suggests 311, when the Duoviri Navales were first appointed, and Mattingly, in *Roman Coins*³, considered that the issue was first made a little before or after 300. Both these last mentioned authors show that the artistic style of the libral asses is not consistent with any much earlier date.

Messrs. Mattingly and Robinson, in their British Academy paper, would place the upward limit of probability even later, namely in 289, when Triumviri Monetales were first appointed.

Such being the differences of opinion as to the first issue of the series it follows that agreement has not been reached as to the various reductions, but we shall see that the evidence brought forward in the British Academy paper brings their dates to much later periods than those accepted by the earlier numismatists, and affords a basis for the chronological statement attempted at the end of these notes.

That the second reduction had not been made before the revolt of the southern cities, 215-211, appears from overstrikes mentioned below, and it is believed that the sextantal reduction did not take place till about 187. When the as had once lost its position as a coin of intrinsic value and become a token we may suppose that its fall in weight was irregular and rapid, and was not definitely stayed until the sextantal coin was issued as part of a new monetary system—that of the Roman denarius.

2. THE ROMANO-CAMPANIAN SERIES was struck in several mints, and at first was the currency of Roman citizens and their allies in which they traded between themselves and

² All dates in this paper are, of course, B.C.

³ Methuen, 1927.

with the outside world. No doubt it had circulation in Rome itself from an early period. It was indeed a Roman coinage, although it may be that the earliest issue of it was not from a mint in that city⁴.

The weight varied, as time went on, either through reduction or the adoption of a lighter standard, and comprised didrachms weighing from 112 grs. or 7.2 grm., to 104 grs. or 6.7 grm.

Still lighter didrachms called quadrigati, which bear on the obverse a young Janus head and on the reverse a quadriga, were struck in great numbers and in great diversity of weights, between 106 and 85 grs.⁵, and the mint of Rome was certainly largely concerned in their issue. With these must be coupled the rare gold pieces bearing the like obverse and, on the reverse, the swearing of the Oath.

The issue of these coins in Rome no doubt ceased about the time when the issue of the Roman denarius marked X and its fractions began, and for that reason earlier writers have supposed that it ended in 268. If the theory now put forth be accepted we shall have to advance the date to about 187. The initial date of the issue of the series is still uncertain but, as the types are in some measure allied to those of Carthage, it has been suggested that it may have followed the alliance of the two states against Pyrrhus in 279. It may have been first issued as late as 269. In 216 Hannibal estimated the value of the prisoners of Cannae in quadrigati.

3. THE VICTORIATE SERIES consisted of the Victoriates themselves (so called from its reverse type of Victory), with its double and moiety. On this coin, which at first sight appears to be intrusive on the purely Roman silver series, we have recently heard Mr. Sydenham⁶ who shows us that, though it was

⁴ Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 181 ff. Only ten years ago it was necessary for Mr. Mattingly to contend against the theory that all these coins were struck at Capua.

⁵ Like other series, these coins fell off in both alloy and weight as time passed. Some specimens weigh even less than 70 grs.

⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 1932, pp. 73 ff.

struck in great numbers in Rome itself, it was also issued from other mints: indeed the double victoriate, which is of the greatest rarity, was probably not struck in Rome. I have used the word "intrusive" to express the view which we, as collectors of Roman coins, have taken, largely in consequence of our unfounded belief that the first issue of the victoriate was subsequent to that of the denarius X and its fractions. The contrary is the fact: the coin, which was a commercial one, fell into the Romano-Campanian series, its weight being 52.5 grs., about one-half of that of the normal quadrigatus didrachm: it was in fact a drachm. That its first issue was earlier than that of the Roman denarius is shown by the fact that it is found in hoards without any admixture of that coin, but it did not cease to be issued until long after the denarius made its appearance. Messrs. Mattingly and Robinson would date its first issue in about 205, but Mr. Sydenham points out that it bears a very strong resemblance to certain coins of Agrigentum and elsewhere which cannot be brought later than 212. The obverses of the coins are almost identical, but of course it does not follow that they were quite contemporary. Its original value was $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of that which was afterwards attached to the denarius, but it, like all the other coins under consideration, suffered reduction as time passed, finally sunk to the position of a quinarius. It probably ceased to be issued in about the year 168.

4. THE ROMAN SILVER SERIES consisting of the denarius marked X, the quinarius marked V, and the sestertius marked IIS. The mint of Rome was responsible for the greater part of this series, but several other mints struck it from time to time. The weight of the denarius was at first 70 grs. and it soon fell away somewhat therefrom.

Numismatists have accepted the statement of Pliny that the denarius made its first appearance in 269, and our theory of the Roman monetary system has hinged upon that date. Messrs. Mattingly and Robinson now seek to destroy that theory, and to show that the mint of Rome first issued this series in or about 187. If they succeed we must rearrange

most of our dates. I think that they do succeed by adducing a number of evidences which, individually often small, yet all point one way, and in the aggregate become convincing. I hope to summarize them and enable you to form your own conclusions. One must collect what facts and dates are available, and I may clear some ground by referring at once to the fact, which it is generally admitted that Messrs. Samwer and Bahrfeldt⁷ have established, that the introduction of the denarius was contemporary, or almost contemporary, with the sextantal reduction of the as.

Those authors show in tabular form that from the earliest period of the history of the denarius when it began to bear symbols, letters, and monograms, similar marks may be traced on the bronze coinage of the sextantal standard and incidentally also on victoriati. While the denarii were struck at their greatest weight more than twenty identical symbols are found both on denarii and asses, in many cases also on the smaller coins of the sextantal series and, somewhat less frequently, on victoriati. This correspondence can also be traced in very numerous cases as time passes on and weights become lighter, and the fact that certain blocks of symbols which are found from time to time on the denarii do not occur on coins of lower value tends to confirm the authors' conclusions, since it is impossible to connect them with coins of any other standard. The style of the denarii is also consistent with that of the bronze series, and it seems impossible to dispute the correctness of the conclusion that the denarius and sextantal as were issued at or almost at the same time, and thus a solid basis for the views put forward in the two papers which I am analysing is provided.

Festus⁸ says that the sextantal standard was introduced "propter bellum Punicum secundum"; which war ended in 201. It is not easy to say what year he intended to indicate, but the Roman State did not reduce to order the

⁷ Samwer und Bahrfeldt, *Geschichte des älteren röm. Münzwesens*, Vienna, 1883.

⁸ Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.*, ii, pp. 81, 347 a.

confusion into which its finances had been thrown by the great wars until 187, when, after the successful results of the Macedonian and Syrian wars, the Republic was at peace. Then at last the Treasury was able to pay off its war loans, and it is at least likely that it struck the new coinage wherewith to carry out that operation. There had been a great influx of money from the Carthaginian indemnity, and afterwards from the Macedonian and Syrian booties received in 197 and 189, and it may be incidentally noted that there must have been an inconvenient admixture of the silver coins of the Romano-Campanian with those of the heavier Attic standard, which was based on a tetradrachm of a nominal weight of 270 grs., and an actual one of 266 grs., say 17.4 or 17.2 grm. What more likely than that a new, purely Roman coinage, should be adopted. Pliny tells us that in 186 there was a glut of money in Rome⁹, and there is an allusion in the Prologue to the *Casina* of the dramatist Plautus to "novi nummi". That prologue was probably written in or about 184, and there were then no coins which could have been called "new" unless the denarius series could still be so described.

All this is consistent with our authors' proposition; but let us see what evidence that the denarius X was not in existence in or near 269 can be found. Here again the close connexion between that coin and the sextantal as becomes of the greatest importance. Probably Pliny's error was not in the statement that Rome struck silver coinage in that year for the first time, but in his belief that that silver was the Roman denarius series, when in fact it was the Romano-Campanian series then first struck at Rome. The quadrigatus didrachm, though not the only coin of the series struck in Rome, yet constituted a large proportion of its output and, as we have seen, continued to be struck down to the introduction of the new Roman silver coinage. The Romano-Campanian series was for a long time concurrent with the aes grave of the libral and semi-libral series, and even with

⁹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 10, 138.

those of the second reduction. That the second reduction had still not taken place at a much later date than 269 is clear from overstrikes by Capua and other cities during their rebellion against Rome, 215-211. They are always on Roman coins of semi-libral standard, and the sextantal reduction was yet distant. We also find that Rome herself overstruck coins of the first reduction with the dies of the second reduction, so that it is clear that the two series are successive.

There is literary reason for believing that the word "denarius" was used in Rome before the new coinage was adopted, and that it referred to a heavier piece than that marked X. Livy says that the Attic tetradrachm was equal to three "denarii" in weight, and as we have seen above, it would have been almost equal in weight to four denarii X. Plautus also named one of his later plays the "Trinummus", apparently after an unusually heavy coin, the tetradrachm, which was then familiar in Rome, no doubt from the spoil of Macedon received in 197.

All these pieces of evidence force the date of the introduction of the new coinage downwards, and we have seen that, while they are inconsistent with our original date, they together point to 187 or thereabouts as the most likely time for the commencement of that innovation.

The evidence to be drawn from hoards also points the same way. Hoards of early denarii are almost lacking—the period for which we contend was one of peace, and therefore few deposits were made. Carthaginian armies were still in Italy during the years in which we believe that the victoriatum was first issued and hoards of victoriatum without any denarii are, as we have seen, found from time to time. Only in later hoards are the two coins mingled.

Our authors also find cogent evidence in the types of the new coins. The obverse, which we have considered to be Dea Roma or Minerva, does not coincide with the other representations of either of those Goddesses, but is, our authors think, Bellona, the Roman Goddess of War, perhaps, in origin, Diana of Nemi, the patroness of the Latins. A

head of Perseus on tetradrachms of Philip V of Macedon, struck in 186 to 181, bears great resemblance to it, and all types which are really similar to it are to be found in the second century B.C.

The reverse type, the Dioscuri, also seems to be of like date. The great twin Brethren had fought for Rome at Lake Regillus, but their fame had faded, and we hear no more of them at Rome for some centuries.

After Cynoscephalae, in 197, Flaminius made a dedication to them in acknowledgement of assistance believed to have been rendered by them, and at Pydna, in 168, they were said to have appeared on the field. It is not unlikely that they may have been selected as a coin type at a time when men's minds were once more turned towards them. Also, this type is copied on other coinages in the first half of the second century B.C.

This short résumé of the evidence must suffice, though there are other points put forward with which time forbids me to deal. I venture to think that we may accept it as affording proof of the correctness of the approximate date 187 B.C., to which our authors attribute the first issue of the Roman denarius series, and may hope that we are now at last reaching a correct theory of Roman Coinage. The great monetary change of 269 probably marks the first tightening of the Roman grip on the coinage of Italy, and that of 187 a further strengthening of that control.

5. THE DENARIUS OF 16 ASSES. The next change of importance in the system was the retariffing of the denarius from the value of 10 to that of 16 asses, the new marks being XVI or X. Here again Pliny¹⁰ has misled us by attributing this change and the uncial reduction of the as to the year 217. His date is, in view of what we have above discussed, quite incorrect, but he may be correct in his association of the two changes together. Messrs. Mattingly and Sydenham each read us a short paper on the question in November last; papers which were written independently of each

¹⁰ N. H., xxxiii. 13.

other. Mr. Sydenham holds that there was no line of demarcation between the sextantal and the uncial standard, but that the as gradually fell in weight from the one to the other, and that therefore there was no connexion between the reductions of bronze and silver other than that the as had so fallen in value that it became necessary to increase the number which went to the denarius.

Mr. Mattingly accepts the association of the two changes, and the two authors, the one relying on historical record, and both of them on the style of the coins, fix the date within the period of the Gracchi. Mr. Sydenham selects that of the Tiberius, say before 133, and Mr. Mattingly that of Gaius, say about 122. The difference is not vital here and I need not attempt to decide between them.

It remains to state our authors' approximate conclusions in tabular form for convenient reference:

B.C.

Circa 289. The first issue of the Aes Grave and its fractions at Rome.

„ 269. The first issue of silver coinage at Rome, being the Romano-Campanian series.

„ 235 or even later. The first (semi-libral) reduction of the bronze coinage.

213 to 205. The first issue of the Victoriatus at Rome.

After 211. The second reduction of the bronze coinage to 4 oz.
It subsequently declined to 3 oz.

Circa 187. The sextantal reduction of the bronze coinage.

„ 187. The first issue of the denarius and its fractions.

„ 187. The end of the issue of Romano-Campanian coins at Rome.

„ 168. The end of the Victoriatus issue.

„ 133 or at some date not later than 122. The retariffing of the Denarius of 10 asses at 16 asses, and the reduction of the as to the uncial standard.

I have to thank the Fellows of our Society most warmly for the kindness with which they have supported my efforts to perform the duties of my office during the past year, and

perhaps not less for the patience with which they have listened to-night to my divergence from the usual course of Presidential Addresses.

Even more greatly are your thanks and mine due to the Hon. Secretaries, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Librarian, Hon. Editors, Auditors, Scrutineers of the Ballot, and the Members of your Council for their constant and most successful efforts on behalf of that Society of which I think we all have reason to be proud.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address was moved by Sir Charles Oman, M.P., and seconded by Mr. F. A. Harrison.

The President then announced the result of the ballot for office-bearers for the session 1934-5 as follows :

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PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents.

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., M.A., D.C.L.,
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FREDERICK A. HARRISON, Esq., F.S.A.

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H. NELSON WRIGHT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.).

The President then adjourned the Society till October 18.